

The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal 8



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The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal

Volume 8/1980

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Editorial statement:

The J. Paul Getty Museum was founded twenty-five years ago and moved to its new building in 1974. As the museum grows, an active program of research and publication has been encouraged. To this end our founder J. Paul Getty authorized the publication of the first two volumes of the J. Paul Getty Museum *Journal*.

The *Journal* is published annually and contains articles and shorter notes on aspects of all three collections in the museum: Renaissance through nineteenth century painting, late seventeenth and eighteenth century French decorative arts and sculpture, and Greek and Roman antiquities. Conservation problems are also discussed.

The Editors

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Stephen Bailey

Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts, 1979 to mid 1980

1. CORNER CABINET (Fig. 1)

French (Paris); c. 1745

Dimensions: height 289.5 cm. (9' 6"); width 129.5 cm.
(4' 3"); depth 72 cm. (2' 4½")

Acc. no.: 79.DA.66

(The cabinet is displayed in Gallery 210.)

On the 25th of June, 1979, the department of decorative arts acquired at the auction of the collection of Akram Ojjeh¹ a large corner cabinet stamped by Jacques Dubois. This well-known object, a masterpiece of the rococo period, formerly belonged to the Wildenstein family who had acquired it from Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York in the 1940s. Before that date it was in the possession of the Barons Alphonse and Nathaniel de Rothschild, Vienna. Its early provenance is not known, though some furniture historians have said it was made for the German market.

A drawing, which would appear to be a preliminary study for the cabinet, given to the hand of Nicolas Pineau (Fig. 3), is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, and an engraved design for the interior of a *chambre à coucher*, showing the cabinet, is in a private collection in Paris² (Fig. 4). While the drawing is not signed, the engraving is inscribed *Pineau del.* and *Mariette exc.* It would seem that both the drawing and the engraving must date some fifteen years before the construction of the cabinet. Nicolas Pineau (1684–1755), one of the great creators of the rococo style, could not have conceived this drawing and engraving after 1730—they are both in the Régence style.

Pineau went to Russia in 1716, and the date of his return to Paris is given by various historians as 1726,³ 1727,⁴ and 1741.⁵ As he was working in the Hôtel de Villars⁶ in 1731, for the Duchess de Mazarin at the Hôtel Mazarin in 1735,⁷ and for the financier Boutin in 1738,⁸ it is certain that his return to Paris can be put at one of the earlier dates.⁹ It is obvious that the engraving, at least, must have been produced in Paris—and it is un-

likely that Mariette would agree to publish a design so out of fashion in the early 1740s. Jacques Dubois, whose stamp *J. DUBOIS* is found on both the upper and lower sections of the cabinet, did not become a master till 1742 when he was already 49 years old. Although the guild rule enforcing the stamping of furniture was established in 1741, it is unlikely that Dubois would have made such an elaborate piece in the first years of his mastership. The design of the cabinet, in the full flower of the rococo style, would point to a date at least five years later.

The problem of the earlier date of the preliminary drawing and engraving is not easy to resolve. Both documents show that the motif of the cupid seated on a lion (Fig. 2) was already incorporated, and the general shape decided upon. It is unlikely that Pineau would have created on paper such an elaborate form without a commission for such a piece having been given. The delay in the construction of the piece, in a later style, will not be understood perhaps until we discover whom the piece was made for.

Those historians who have suggested that the cabinet was made for the German market are perhaps influenced by the unique and exuberant form of this piece, said to be more suited to the German taste. But if the famous Gaudreau-Caffiéri *bureau plat* now in a private collection in Switzerland, of even more unique form, were to appear on the market, no doubt it would also be classified as a piece made for the German market. Such an idea is of course disproved by its appearance on the Van Blarenberg box, showing it *in situ* in the salon of the duc de Choiseul. The depiction of this corner cabinet in an engraving showing a markedly French interior helps us to identify the piece as a French commission. It is unfortunate that Pineau's design does not bear the name of his patron.

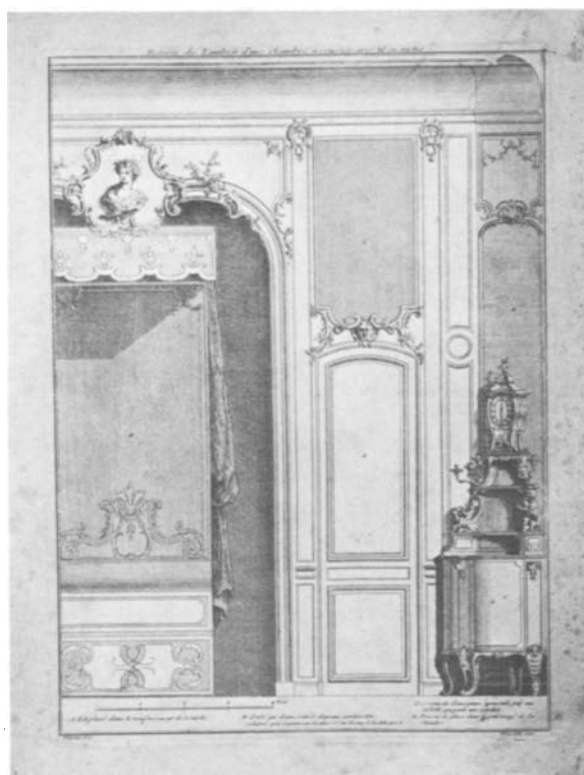
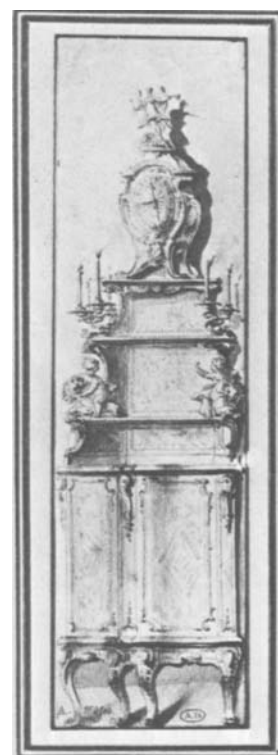
It is possible that Pineau made the models for the mounts on the cabinet. They are very much in his style. The central escutcheon on the drawer front follows



Figure 1. Corner cabinet by Jacques Dubois. French (Paris); c. 1745.



Figure 2. Detail showing one of the gilt bronze mounts on the corner cabinet (Fig. 1)



closely a drawing of a cartouche by Pineau.¹⁰ The corner mounts extending down the sides of the lower section of the cabinet also appear on two *bureau plats*. One in the Louvre¹¹ is stamped by Dubois, the other in the Rijksmuseum is attributed to him.¹² The central escutcheon on the drawer, the corner mounts immediately below the lions, and the decorated mouldings all appear on a pair of bibliothèques sold at auction in Monte Carlo in 1979.¹³ The bibliothèques are not stamped with a maker's mark, but they may be attributed to Jacques Dubois.

1. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monte Carlo, 1979, June 25 and 26, Lot 60.

2. The engraving is also listed in D. Guilmar, *Les Maîtres Ornemanistes* (1880–1881) 127: "Dessein de Lambris d'une Chambre à Coucher avec lit en niche."

3. F. J. B. Watson, *The Wallace Collection Catalogues: Furniture* (1956) p. 37; Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, (1933) p. 54.

4. E. Benezit, *Dictionnaire des Peintres*, Vol 8 (1976) p. 343.

5. H. Vial, A. Marcel and A. Girodie: *Les Artistes Decorateurs du Bois* (1922) p. 86.

6. Watson, op. cit., p. 53.

7. Watson, op. cit. p. xxxii

8. Leon Deshairs, *Nicholas et Dominique Pineau. Dessins originaux des Maîtres Decorateurs*, (1911–1914) p. 7.

9. Pineau's name does not appear in Russian documents after 1727. (Deshairs: op. cit., p. 8).

10. Deshairs, op. cit., Pl. VII, no. 13.

11. OA.6083

12. Acc. no. 488.

13. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monte Carlo, 1979, November 15–17, Lot 130.

Figure 3. A preliminary drawing for the corner cabinet (Fig. 1) by Nicolas Pineau. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

Figure 4. An engraving for a design of a *chambre à coucher*, inscribed Pineau del and Mariette exc.



Figure 5. Marble bowl, mounted with gilt-bronze. French (Paris); c. 1760.

2. MARBLE BOWL (Fig. 5)

French (Paris); c. 1760

Dimensions: height 31 cm. (12½"); width 50.8 cm. (20"); depth 28 cm. (11").

Acc. no.: 79.DE.183

(The bowl is displayed in Gallery 217.)

At the above mentioned Ojeh sale, the museum bid unsuccessfully on a Sèvres bowl mounted with gilt-bronze.¹ The Sèvres bowl, inspired by, but not copying, an antique vase was decorated with handles in the form of gilt-bronze entwined serpents, while the porcelain was painted to resemble grey and white marble. Three bowls of the same model exist in the Jones Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.² Two are of *bleu-du-roi* Sèvres, while the third is again painted to resemble marble and marked with the date letter *K* for 1763. (Fig. 6).

On December 6th, 1979, a bowl of identical form, with the same mounts, was acquired by the museum at an auction at Christie's, London.³ In this case the bowl is of grey and white marble, not porcelain, and is slightly larger than the Sèvres examples. The mounts, of the same design, are correspondingly larger. The chasing of the bronze is handled in a broader and more sculptural way than those on the Jones and Ojeh examples, which have the heavily chased jewel-like precision of late eighteenth century mounts. It is likely that this single marble mounted bowl is the prototype for the Sèvres porcelain versions, which are first mentioned in the Sèvres inventory in 1763: "2 vases Choiseul bleu nouveau . . ." given



Figure 6. Sèvres porcelain bowl, mounted with gilt-bronze. The bowl bears the date letter for 1763. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

as a present to "M. le Commissaire du Roi." Another, also of blue Sèvres was sold in 1766. The plaster model for this bowl, still preserved at the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres, is listed in the Sèvres inventories in 1762,⁴ where it is described as a "Vase Choiseul." This marble bowl, if it is a prototype, must therefore pre-date the model. It is conceivable that the bowl was carved in the *Menus Plaisirs du Roi*, a royal establishment much involved in the revival of the art of carving hardstones. It is also possible that this piece belonged to the duc de Choiseul, whose name was used by Sèvres for the plaster model.



Figure 7. Side table. French (Paris); c. 1740.

1. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monte Carlo, 1979, June 25th and 26th, Lot 124.

2. *Catalogue of the Jones Collection, Part II, Ceramics, Ormolu, Goldsmith's work etc.* (1924), p. 61, Nos. 232 and 233, Pl. 54.

3. Christie's, London, 1979, December 6th, Lot 4.

4. Marcelle Brunet, Tamara Preaud, *Sèvres*, (1978) p. 164, No. 120.

3. SIDE TABLE

French (Paris); c. 1740

Dimensions: height 90 cm. (2' 11½"); width 174 cm. (5' 8½"); depth 81 cm. (2' 8")

Acc. no.: 79.DA.68

(The table is exhibited in Gallery 211.)

This large side table (Fig. 7) was acquired by the museum in 1979 from the Paris dealer François-Gérard Seligman. Carved with lions' heads at the corners and the center of the stretcher, chimerae at the feet, winged serpents on the stretchers, and twining serpents on the legs, it exhibits an exuberance and complexity of design that has few comparisons. A pair of small consoles, sold in Paris in 1976,¹ must have been made in the same *atelier*. They too have chimerae at the feet, which also appear at the upper corners in place of the lions' heads. The top

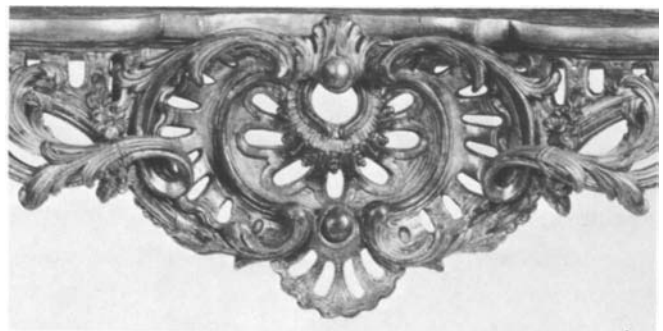


Figure 8. Detail of the side table shown in Fig. 7.



Figure 9. Detail of another table in the museum's collection, of similar date.



Figure 10. Cabinet by Joseph or Gaspard-Joseph Baumhauer. French (Paris); c. 1765-1770.

has the same double bowed profile, and the central section below is of almost precisely the same design. This pierced cartouche (Fig. 8) flanked by convoluted acanthus sprays is also found on the large gilt-wood rococo center table (Fig. 9) topped with a seventeenth century Roman marble *pietre dure* slab acquired by the museum in 1972.² It too is decorated with twining serpents and a lion's head. Both tables mark the highest point of the French rococo carver's art.

1. Palais Galleria, November 24th, 1976, Lot 98. H. 88 cm., W. 96 cm.

2. Acc. no. 72.DA.58. Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1977, p. 38, No. 49.

4. CABINET

French (Paris); c. 1765

Dimensions: Height 89 cm. (2' 11"); Width 120 cm. (3' 11¼"); Depth 58.5 cm. (1' 11")

Acc. no.: 79.DA.58

(The cabinet is displayed in Gallery 221.)

The cabinet illustrated as Fig. 10 was acquired by the museum in 1979 from the London dealer Alexander and Berendt. It is stamped *JOSEPH* (for Joseph Baumhauer) beneath the apron. The top is set with a slab of yellow jasper, and the doors are decorated with four panels of late seventeenth century Kijimaki lacquer, with the lacquered decoration on a natural wood ground where the grain has been raised by rubbing it with sand. Large panels lacquered in this technique are rare (Figs. 11 and 12).

The cabinet is designed in the rather massive form usually associated with the first emergence of the neoclassical style circa 1765. Baumhauer died in 1772 and did not become a master till shortly before 1767. Many pieces in the full rococo style, for which he is primarily known, are stamped *JOSEPH*. We surely cannot assume that all these pieces were made in the span of only five years between his mastership and his death. Joseph must have been using his stamp before 1767. Salverte identifies Joseph Baumhauer as the "Sr. Joseph" who was employed by the ébéniste François Riezell in 1767.² It would now seem unlikely that this Sr. Joseph can be one and the same Baumhauer, for the furniture stamped by the latter that must have been made before this date is of a quality that would far exceed the expertise of a mere *compagnon*.

Furthermore, at the death of the *marchand-mercier* Lazare Duvaux in 1758, the ébéniste Joseph is listed as one of the creditors of his estate and was owed 1,726 livres.³ This was a sizable sum and, moreover, it is unlikely that Duvaux would have employed a mere *compagnon*. Even if he had, the debt would have probably been entered under the name of his master Riezell.

It is also known that Joseph died in 1772 after a long illness.⁴ Therefore all the objects made after about 1770 that are stamped *Joseph* were probably made by Gaspard-Joseph who took over his father's business and almost certainly continued to use his father's stamp. Here, as with Jacques Dubois and Bernard van Risenberg, one could say that most neoclassical pieces bearing the stamps of *I. DUBOIS*, *B.V.R.B.*, and *Joseph* were made by the sons of these illustrious cabinetmakers, about whom relatively little is known.

1. A secrétaire, stamped *Joseph*, of similarly massive form, bears an identical apron mount. It is at present with Didier Aaron, New York.

2. François de Salverte, *Les Ebénistes du XVIIIe siècle* (1923) p. 166.

3. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Furniture, Clocks and Gilt Bronzes*, Vol 2 (1974) p. 863.

4. Bellaigue, op. cit., p. 863.



Figure 11. Detail of the left door of the cabinet showing the lacquer panel.



Figure 12. Detail of the right door.



Figure 13. Lidded bowl of Imari porcelain with silver mounts. The mounts made in France (Paris); c. 1725.

5. LIDDED BOWL

The porcelain: Japanese (Imari); c. 1700

The silver mounts: French (Paris); c. 1725

Dimensions: Height 28 cm. (11"); Width 35.5 cm.
(14")

Acc. no.:79.DE.123

(The bowl is on display in Gallery 208)

The bowl was acquired by the museum at the sale of the contents of North Mymms Park in 1979¹ (Fig. 13). The silver mounts are not marked (Fig. 14). The lid of the bowl is formed by a plate attached by means of a silver bolted rod to a saucer. (Fig. 15) The museum already possesses a smaller Imari lidded bowl mounted with silver.² On that example, the silver is marked for 1722–

1727, and the present piece would appear to have been mounted in the same decade.³ Such large mounted bowls are rare, though smaller pieces of Imari with simple mounts appear fairly frequently on the market. The bluish white of the porcelain, a characteristic of Japanese Imari, is ideally suited to silver mounts rather than those of gilt-bronze.

-
1. Christie's, 1979, September 24-26, Lot 45.
 2. Acc. no. 74.DE.27
 3. Identical silver mounts are also found on an Imari bowl in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Acc. No. Ker 1948). The silver is not marked on this example.

6. PAIR OF VASES

The porcelain: Chinese (Famille verte); c. 1710-1720.

The gilt bronze mounts: French (Paris); c. 1745-1749

Dimensions: Height 31.75 cm. (12½"); Width 35.5 cm. (14"); Depth 26.5 cm. (10½")

Acc. no.: 79.DE.121

(The vases are on display in Gallery 217.)

The vase illustrated as Fig. 16 is one of a pair acquired in 1979 from the London dealer Alexander and Berendt. Each vase has been cut from a larger vessel which may have been fully twenty inches in height.¹ They are painted green, blue, and aubergine, with partially gilded dragons on a coral ground (sometimes referred to as *rouge de fer*). Double circles in underglaze blue are painted beneath the vases. The profuse gilt-bronze mounts are of an unusual model, with the solid flaring mount around the lip of the vase and the high pierced foot formed of acanthus scrolls intertwined with floral branches. The mounts are struck with the tax stamp of the crowned C, enabling us to date them between 1745 and 1749. It has been suggested that these vases were used as *seaux à vin* or wine coolers, but it is more likely that their function was purely decorative.

-
1. A pair of uncut vases of almost identical decoration in the museum's collection is twenty inches high. They are set with late nineteenth century mounts and are therefore not displayed. A single almost identical vase, also uncut, with florid rococo mounts is at Raby Castle, Co. Durham, England. It is about twenty-four inches high.



Figure 14. Detail of the bowl showing the silver side mount and handle.

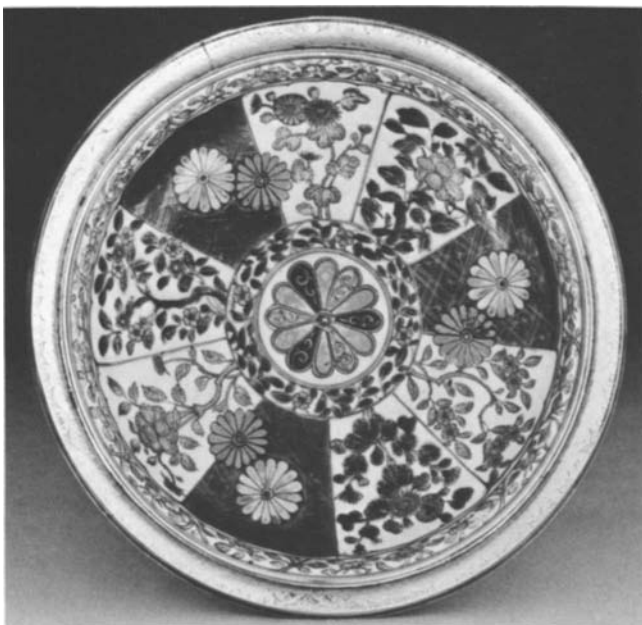


Figure 15. The interior of the lid, formed of an Imari plate.



Figure 16. One of a pair of vases. The porcelain is Chinese (K'ang Hsi); c. 1710–20. The gilt bronze mounts are French (Paris); 1745–1749.



Figure 17. Drawing of an assemblage of vases by Henri Salembier. French (Paris) c. 1780.

The museum acquired the following five decorative drawings at the sale of the Odier collection at Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, in 1979.¹

A. DRAWING (Fig. 17)

French; c. 1780

Pen and ink, with grey and black washes

Measurements: 122.75 x 52.5 cm. (4' $\frac{3}{10}$ " x 1' 8 $\frac{3}{5}$ ")

Acc. no.: 79.PC.178

(The drawing is not on display.)

This large drawing is signed, in pencil, in the lower right corner *Salembier* for Henri Salembier (1753–1820). It shows an imaginative assemblage of urns and vases, some of which are much in the style of Clodion. A similar drawing of three vases of elaborate invention is in an English private collection. That drawing, in turn, is closely related to Salembier's fourth cahier of his engraved series: *Vases, Boettes de Pendules, Tombeaux, etc.*²

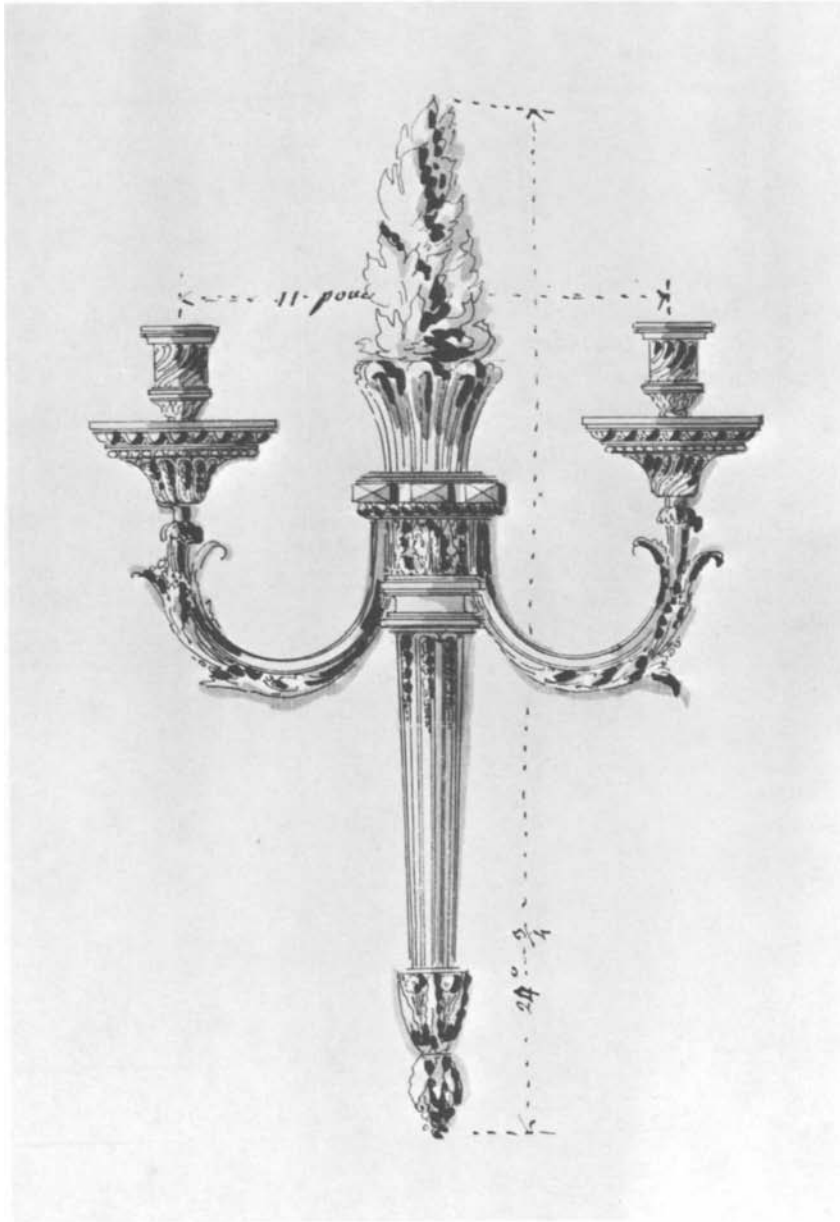


Figure 18. Drawing for a wall light, attributed to Richard LaLonde. French (Paris); c. 1775.

B. DRAWING (Fig. 18)

French; c. 1775

Black ink with grey washes

Measurements: 30 x 20.3 cm. (11 ⁴/₅" x 8")

Acc. no.: 79.PC.179

This drawing for a wall light is attributed to Richard de LaLonde. It is similar to a pair of wall lights in the J. Paul Getty Museum,³ particularly in the design of the shaft, candle holder, *bobèche*, and branches (Fig. 19). However the drawing shows only two of the latter, and the measurements, indicated in *pouces*, show that the intended wall light would have been somewhat smaller.



Figure 19. One of a set of six wall lights in the museum's collection.

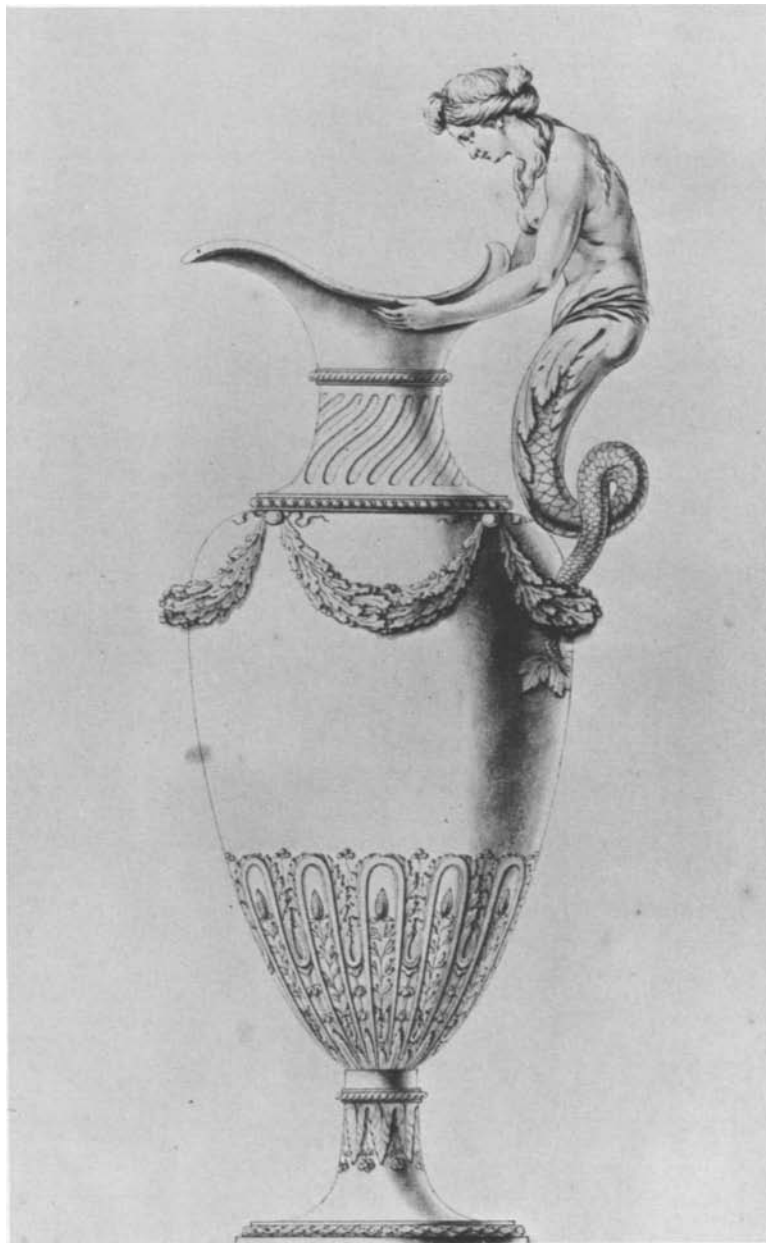


Figure 20. Drawing for a ewer, attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste. French (Paris); c. 1775–1780.

C. DRAWING (Fig. 20)

French; c. 1775–80

Brown ink, with brown and grey washes

Measurements: 40 x 25.4 cm. (15 4/5" x 10")

Acc. no.: 79.PC.180

(The drawing is not on display.)

The drawing shows an ewer or aiguière, the handle of which is formed by a mermaid. It is attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste. A comparable silver ewer by Jean-Baptiste-François Cheret was made in 1784, but here the mermaid is replaced by Narcissus.⁴



Figure 21. Drawing for a wine cooler, attributed to Jean-Guillaume Moitte. French (Paris); c. 1785–1790.

D. DRAWING (Figs. 21–25).

French; c. 1785–1790

Black ink, with grey washes

Measurements: 36.5 x 31.5 cm. (14 $\frac{2}{5}$ " x 12 $\frac{2}{5}$ ")

Acc. no.: 79.PC.182

(The drawing is not on display.)

This drawing for a *seau à vin* or wine cooler is stamped J.B.C. Odier, no. 228.⁵ It is attributed to Jean-Guillaume Moitte.⁶ The silver gilt wine cooler, for which this is a drawing, formed part of a service given by the City of

Paris to Napoleon at his coronation in 1804 (Fig. 24). The service was made by Henri Auguste. They are now exhibited in the dining room at the Musée National du Château de Malmaison, together with twenty-two other pieces, all that is left of a service that originally comprised over 425 objects. Fig. 25 shows an almost identical mask to that shown beneath the handle in the drawing (Fig. 23), found on an ewer and cover by Martin-Guillaume Biennais (hallmarked 1809–19) in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.⁷



Figure 22. Detail of the drawing shown in Fig. 21.



Figure 23. Detail of the drawing shown in Fig. 21.



Figure 24. A silver-gilt wine cooler made by Henri Auguste for Napoléon I in 1804. Château de Malmaison.



Figure 25. Detail of a ewer made by Martin-Guillaume Biennais (1809–1819). California Palace of the Legion of Honour, San Francisco.



Figure 26. Drawing for an inkstand, attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste. French (Paris); c. 1780.

E. DRAWING (Fig. 26)

French; c. 1780

Black ink, with watercolor washes in blue, yellow, and crimson

Measurements: 44 x 38.75 cm. (17 $\frac{3}{10}$ " x 15 $\frac{3}{10}$ ")

Acc. no.: 79.PC.181

(The drawing is not on display.)

This drawing is a project for an inkstand, and it shows Louis XVI in Roman armor being offered the palm of peace by Fame who sits on a cannon. A putto, on a pillar decorated with ships' prows, blows a trumpet and holds a caduceus in his guise as a messenger. Another

putto below holds a trident. Fame's helmet is surmounted by the cockerel of France, while the base of the inkstand is decorated with *fleur-de-lys* and the crossed L's of Louis XVI. The drawing is attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste who became *orfèvre du roi* in 1778. This drawing is no doubt a project for an inkstand destined for Louis XVI and clearly seems to celebrate his maritime victories. It is attributed to Robert-Joseph Auguste.

-
1. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, 1979, November 26: (a) Lot 584, (b) Lot 609, (c) Lot 610, (d) Lot 612, (e) Lot 627.
 2. I am grateful to William Rieder for this information.



Figure 27. Cup and Saucer (*Trembleuse*). French (Sèvres); 1761.

3. Acc. no. 77.DF.29

4. This drawing is reproduced in Jacques Helft, *Les Grands Orfèvres de Louis XIII à Charles X* (1965) p. 219.

5. This seal, with its number, refers to an entry in the inventory of drawings owned by the silversmith Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odier (master 1785, died 1850). The drawing, along with many others, was acquired by Odier at the bankruptcy of the eminent silversmith Henri Auguste in 1810.

6. Jean-Guillaume Miotte was trained as a sculptor in the atelier of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle and attended the Academy in Rome in the early 1770's. He is known to have supplied designs for Henri Auguste.

7. Gift of Alma de Bretteville Spreckels, 1944.22.A, B.

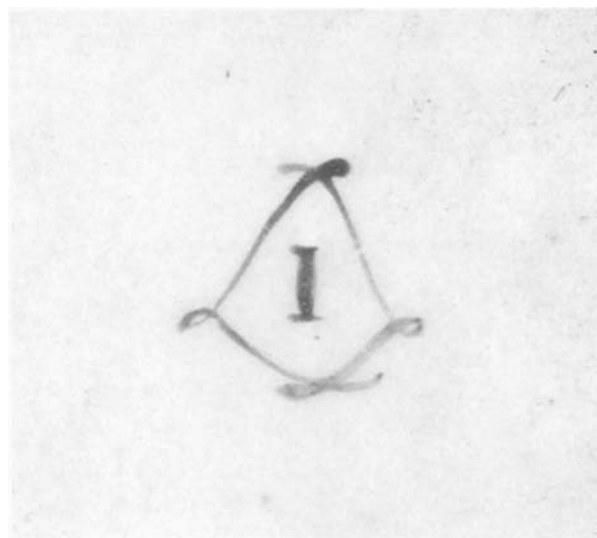


Figure 28. The Sèvres manufactory mark and date letter for 1761 painted beneath the saucer shown in Fig. 27.

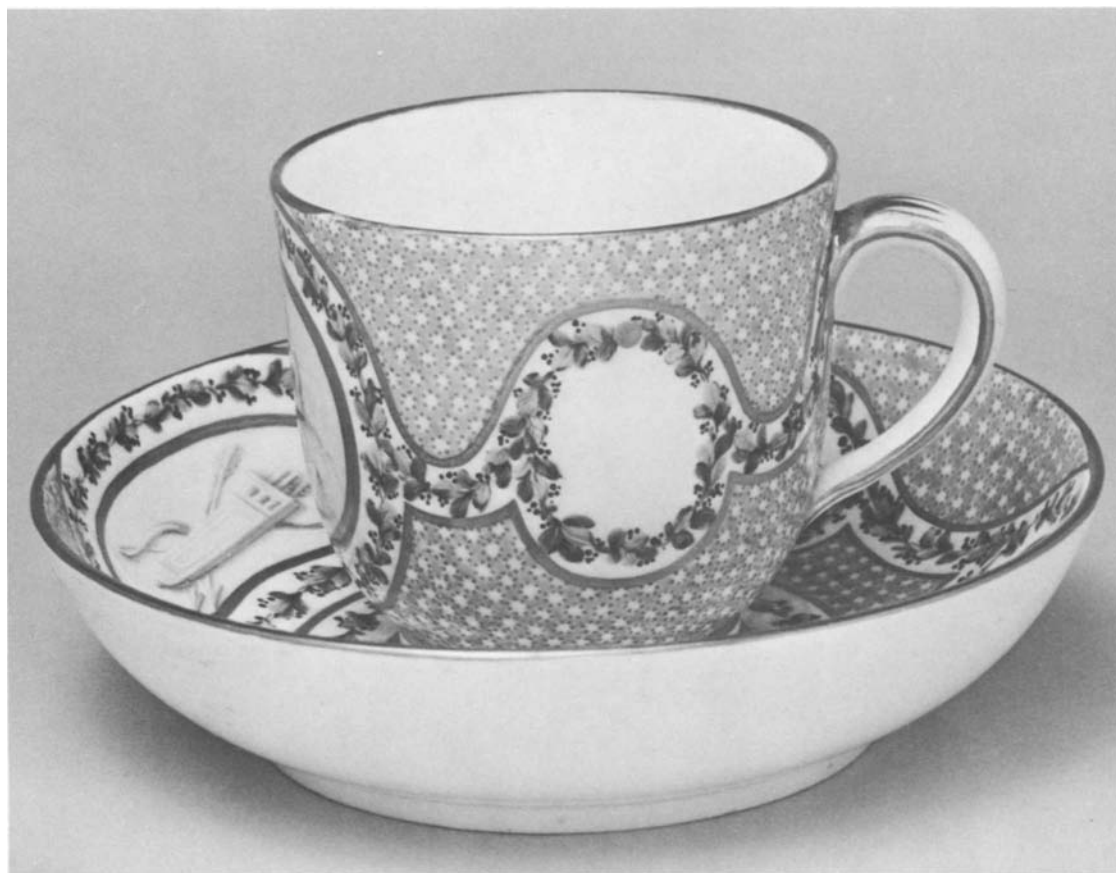


Figure 29. Cup and saucer painted by Jean Fontaine. French (Sèvres); 1770.



Figure 30. The saucer shown in Fig. 29.



Figure 31. Detail of the undersurface of the cup (Fig. 29) showing the Sèvres mark, the date letter for 1770, and the symbol for Fontaine.

Three cups and saucers of Sèvres porcelain and a small tea pot of Vincennes porcelain were acquired by the museum at the sale of the Christner collection at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York in 1979.¹

A. CUP AND SAUCER (*Trembleuse*) (Fig. 27)

French (Sèvres); 1761

Dimensions: Height (of cup) 8.5 cm. (3 3/8"); Diameter (of saucer) 15.25 cm. (6")

Acc. no.: 79.DE.62

(The cup and saucer are on display in Gallery 221.)

The saucer is marked in blue with the crossed "L's" of the Sèvres manufactory and the date letter *I* for 1761. (Fig. 28). There is no painter's symbol. The cup bears the incised marks *du* and OO, and the saucer is incised OO. The cup and saucer are painted pink and blue with white reserves decorated in polychrome with bunches of fruit, flowers, and leaves. This model, with the cup set into a deeply welled saucer, was described in the Sèvres day books as a *trembleuse* or *goblet trembleur*. They first appear called by that name in 1774, but examples exist dated as early as 1756. They seem to have been made for the old or infirm, with shaking hands.

B. CUP AND SAUCER (Figs. 29, 30)

French (Sèvres); 1770

Dimensions: Height (of cup 6.5 cm. (2 1/2")); Diameter (of saucer) 13.5 cm. (5 1/4")

Acc. no.: 79.DE.65

(The cup and saucer are on display in Gallery 221.)

Both the cup and the saucer are marked in blue with the crossed *L*'s of the Sèvres manufactory, and the date letter *r* for 1770. The cup is also marked with the symbol for the painter Jacques Fontaine (act. 1752–1775 and 1778–1807) (Fig. 31). The cup bears the incised mark 6, while the saucer is incised C. They are painted with a ground of *bleu celeste*, decorated in gold and white with *oeil de perdrix*. The reserves are painted in grey *grisaille* with putti, bows and arrows, and fasci, surrounded by green laurel garlands with red berries.

An identically decorated service, consisting of a milk jug, sugar bowl, cup and saucer, and a tray is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.² It too is dated 1770 and marked for Fontaine. It is possible that this cup and saucer was originally part of that service.

C. CUP AND SAUCER (*Goblet Litron*) (Figs. 32)

French (Sèvres); 1773

Dimensions: Height (of cup) 6.5 cm. (2 5/8"); Diameter (of saucer) 13.5 cm. (5 3/8")

Acc. no.: 79.DE.64

(The cup and saucer are on display in Gallery 221)

The cup and saucer are marked in blue with the crossed *L*'s of the Sèvres manufactory, the date letter *U* for 1773, the symbol "ch" for the painter Chabry fils (act. 1765–1787) and # for the gilder Michel-Louis Chauvaux (act. 1773–1783) (Fig. 3). The saucer bears the inscription mark *u*. The *bleu celeste* ground is decorated in gold and white with *oeil de perdrix* and the reserve on the cup is painted in polychrome with a bucolic scene showing a woman leaning against a goat being suckled by a kid. (Fig. 34) The saucer is painted with a putto holding an arrow and reclining amid a quiver of arrows, a tambourine, a jester's staff, theatrical masks, and an open book inscribed *LAVARE*.³ (Fig. 35)

Chabry was a well known painter of pastoral scenes which were often in the manner of François Boucher.

The model for this cup is listed in the Sèvres records as a *goblet litron* after the cubic measure, the *litron*, which it resembles in shape.⁴

D. TEA POT (Fig. 36)

French (Vincennes); c. 1750

Dimensions: Height 8.5 cm. (3 3/8")

Acc. no.: 79.DE.63

(The pot is on display in Gallery 221.)

The small pot is inscribed beneath, in blue, with the crossed *L*'s of the Vincennes or Sèvres manufactory, with no date letter or painter's symbol (Fig. 37). Its base bears the incised marks 48 and 26. It is decorated in *cameieu pourpre* with a lock and river, a ruined building in the background, and men fishing in the foreground. The model of the pot is not common, and does not appear in other museum collections. It may have once formed part of a *dejeuner*, consisting of a small tray with a cup and saucer. While the decoration is somewhat typical of the early years of the Vincennes manufactory, the incised marks, the gold stars on the handle, and the design of the lid all point to a date of about 1765.

Gillian Wilson

1. Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 1979, June 9: (a) Lot 241, (b) Lot 227, (c) Lot 226, (d) Lot 204.

2. Acc. nos. 1917.1066–1069.

3. *L'Avare* was a comedy first produced by Molière in 1668. This scene also appears on one of a pair of covered vases in the British Royal collection. The vases are also dated 1773 and were painted by C.-N. Dodin. See Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, 1979, p. 8, Cat. no. 91.

4. Svend Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor, Sèvres Porcelain* (1968) p. 132.



Figure 32. Cup and saucer (*goblet litron*) by Chabry and Chauvaux. French (Sèvres); 1773.

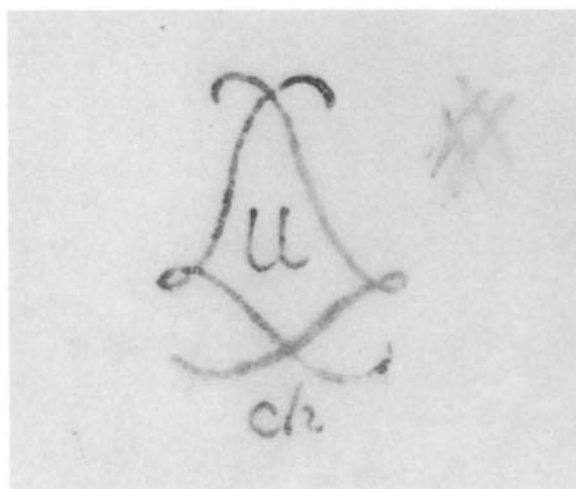


Figure 33. Detail of the undersurface of the saucer (Fig. 32) showing the Sèvres mark, the date letter for 1773 and the symbols for Chabry and Chauvaux.



Figure 34. The reserve of the cup shown in Fig. 32.



Figure 35. The saucer.



Figure 36. Tea pot. French (Sèvres); c. 1765.

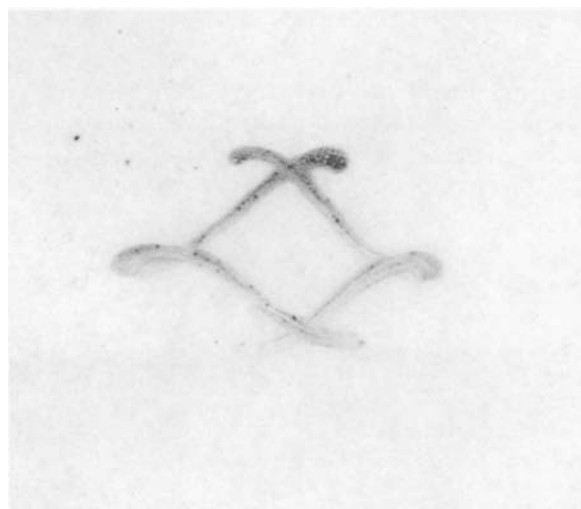


Figure 37. Detail of the Sèvres mark painted beneath the tea pot.

A Late Fifteenth Century Venetian Painting of a Bird Hunt

The significance of Venice as the second great center of Renaissance art depended above all else on the ability of its painters to observe and record the poetic qualities of nature. Primary credit for the evolution of this aspect of Venetian art has always—and correctly—been given to Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and their followers: Titian, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Palma Vecchio. Nevertheless, the development of Venetian naturalism was on a broader stage than this would suggest, as is evidenced by a recent major acquisition of the Getty Museum, a painting showing a bird hunt in the Venetian lagoons (Fig. 1).¹

The painting is not traceable before the first part of the nineteenth century, when it was in the vast collection of Cardinal Fesch.² From there, it passed through the collections of the Marchese Gian Paolo Campana and Camillo Benucci. It was rediscovered in modern times by Andrea Busiri-Vici who found the painting in much darkened condition in the shop of a Roman antiquarian named Sebastia in 1944. It was soon realized to be a major work, thereby giving rise to a prolonged legal action. Finally, three decades after the resolution of these difficulties, the painting was purchased by the Getty Museum. It was restored by Carlo Matteucci just after its discovery and again in 1979 by Susan Page of the Paintings Conservation Department at the Getty Museum.³ The principal side of the panel is in very good condition, with few losses, whereas the back, with its *trompe l'oeil* image, has suffered more considerably and has sustained damages in a number of areas (Fig. 2).

Among the most immediately striking elements of the main image (Fig. 1) is the subject. One sees a series of small boats, each with several men rowing and a single archer at

the front. The scene is unusual in Venetian art and is the subject of some dispute in its specific details. Most frequently referred to simply as a bird hunt, sometimes as a duck shoot or heron hunt, it has been seriously analyzed in this respect only twice, with differing results.⁴ Busiri-Vici, who was the first scholar to seriously review the subject of the painting, believes that the archers are shooting terracotta balls at grebes in the water, a practice which was employed by Venetians in order to preserve the plumage of the birds. The terracotta balls were kept in the small baskets on each boat. The successful results of the hunt are visible in the form of dead grebes hanging on the edge of two of the boats at the left of the painting. In addition to hunting grebes, the young Venetians have brought along cormorants which were used to catch fish, a practice evidently imported from China. One sees a single cormorant standing near the rear of each of the boats. Busiri-Vici goes on to identify the fences in the background as characteristic devices used in the Venetian lagoons by fishermen as a means for dividing the fishing waters. Finally, he notes the temporary fishermen's huts and the hills of Monselice in the far distance.

More recently, Michael Q. Smith has interpreted the subject matter quite differently. He sees all of the birds in the foreground, as well as those perched on the fence in the right middle distance, as cormorants. More significantly, he believes that the hunters are not after birds at all, but are aiming at targets in the water and are fishing together with their cormorants. He identifies the forms hanging from the edge of two of the boats at left as fish.

There are several reasons for preferring Busiri-Vici's interpretation of the front of the panel. Contrary to Smith's

Note: While in press, I received [from Dr. Federico Zeri] measurements of the depth of the panel on which Carpaccio's *Two Venetian Ladies* is painted. It is 2.5 cm. at the top (the crucial measurement) and bottom, 2 cm. at the left and 2.2 cm. at the right. The *Bird Hunt* is 1.8–1.9 cm. in thickness on all four sides. As nothing suggests that the Getty panel has been planed down, this evidence firmly sustains the view taken below that the two panels are not fragments of the same original painting.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Professor Luis Baptista, Susan Page, and, above all, Professor Ulrich Middeldorf in the preparation of this article.

1. The painting measures 76 x 63 cms. Joyce Plesters of the National Gallery in London has determined that it is painted on a panel of spruce.

2. For the provenance of the painting see, A. Busiri-Vici, "Vicenda di un dipinto: la 'Caccia in valle' di Vittor Carpaccio," *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 24, 1963, pp. 351–3.

3. The author is grateful to Susan Page for supplying much useful information about the physical state of the panel. For a more complete study of its restoration, see her article in this issue.

4. See Busiri-Vici, *op. cit.*, 1963, pp. 348–50 and M. Q. Smith, "Carpaccio's Hunt in the Lagoon," *Apollo*, 99, 1974, pp. 240–1.

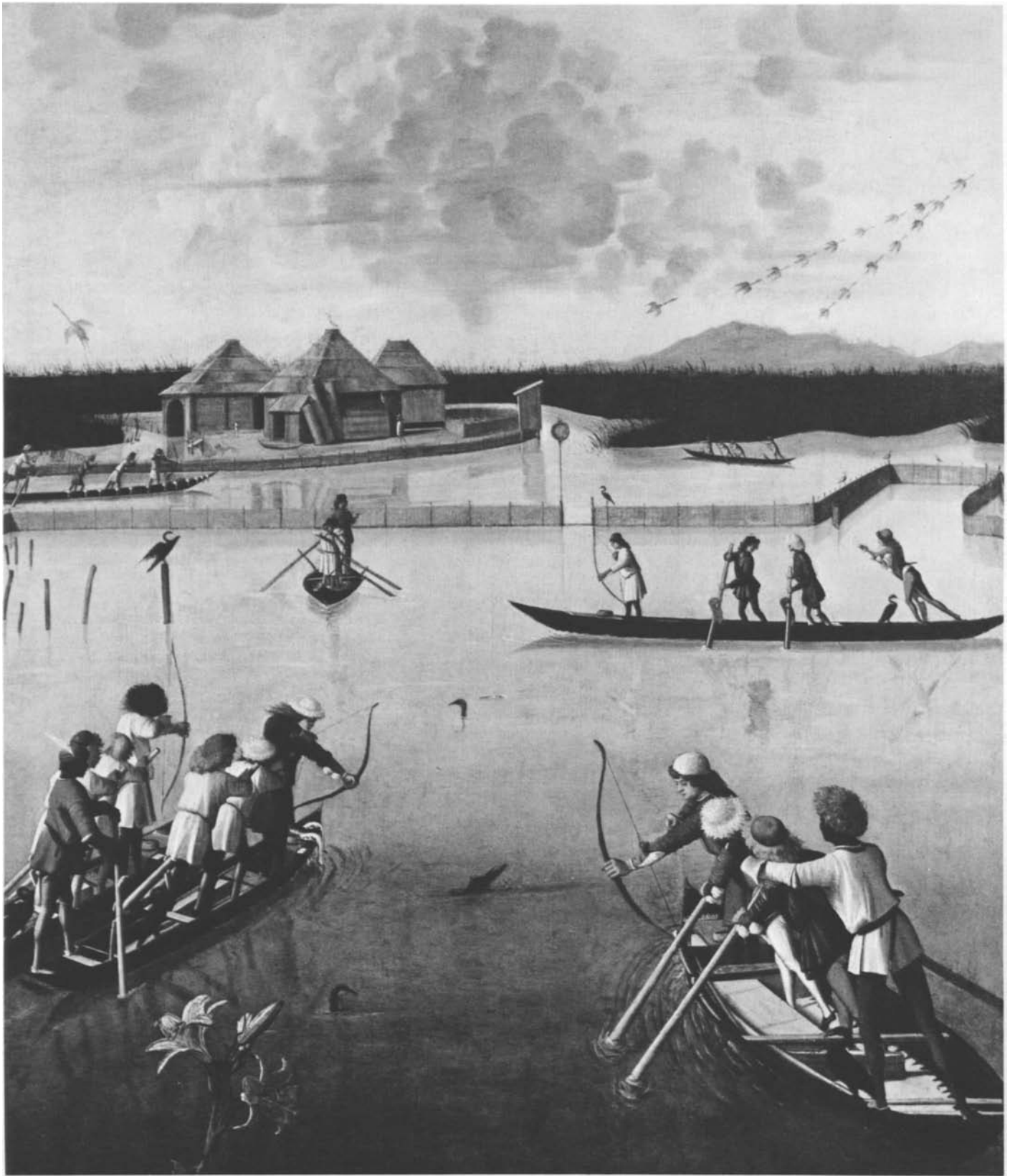


Figure 1. *Bird Hunt*. Carpaccio or Jacometto Veneziano (?). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

view, there are no targets of any sort visible in the water. Equally, the forms hanging off the edge of the boat at the left foreground are rather clearly discernible as birds, not fish. Finally, the kind of hunting practice which Busiri-Vici describes was used in Venice through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the print by Giacomo Franco (which he illustrates) and the painting by Pietro Longhi in the Galleria Querini-Stampalia in Venice prove.⁵

Over and above the matter of the details of Venetian hunting practices lies the general choice of subject and its treatment. The artist displays a love of nature, both in terms of its minutiae and its overall character. A viewer not only feels the careful observation of the birds but also a rich and sensitively considered depiction of the air and light of the Venetian ambient. In no other Venetian painting before Giorgione's *Tempesta* are the qualities of atmosphere so acutely perceived and expressed. The handling of individual forms is no less perceptive and refined. Particularly with respect to the figures in the foreground, one recognizes great care in capturing the precise effects of light on the surfaces and, at the same time, a concern for maintaining the full contour and volumetric structure of form. In terms of composition, there is a clear symmetry achieved through the alternation of forms around a central void which is crowned at the top of the painting by groups of clouds. There is nothing in the organization of the composition to suggest that this is a fragment, extracted artificially from a larger and altogether different painting. Indeed, the balance of images is calibrated even to the extent of having one large bird fly off to the left, while a flock in V-formation moves in the opposite direction.

The sense of harmony and order in the painting is disrupted by one disturbing element, the upper part of a lily which is cut arbitrarily well up the stem and which is disproportionately large in relation to the hunt scene. This odd detail, as well as technical evidence, proves that the panel has been cut at the bottom. There have been two attempts to explain this feature of the painting and to reconstruct its original appearance. Busiri-Vici argued that the panel was cut only at the bottom and that it was originally only approximately six inches longer.⁶ He extends the lily down to a small strip of land at the left and simply continues the water of the lagoon at right. In general, his

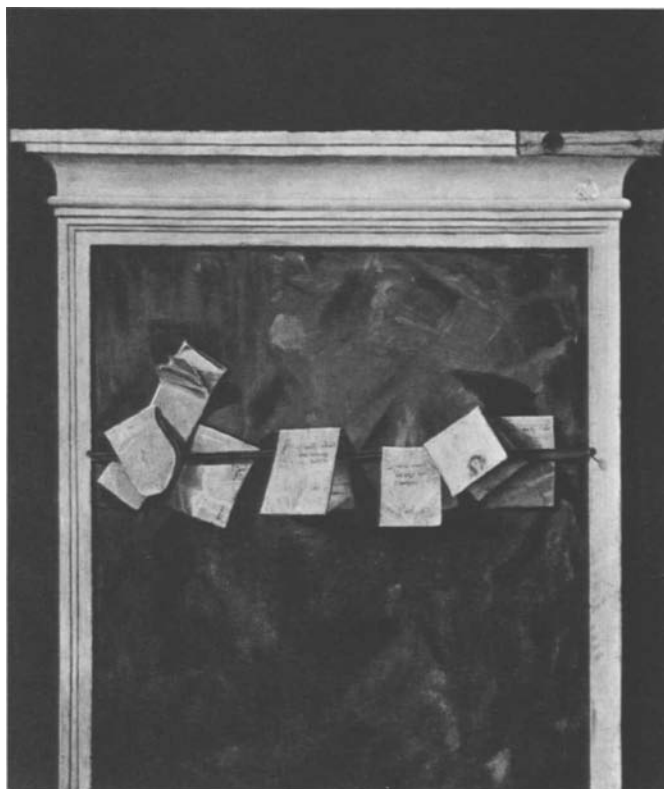


Figure 2. *Trompe l'oeil Still Life; Letters Suspended in a Doorway* (reverse of Fig. 1). Carpaccio or Jacometto Veneziano (?). Malibu.

reconstruction is quite plausible, although a foreground in this form would not be readily analogous to that found in other surviving paintings of the period.

A second hypothesis has been advanced by Robertson and Ragghianti, though quickly withdrawn by the former scholar.⁷ According to this theory the Getty panel would have been the upper portion of the famous reduced painting by Carpaccio, the so-called *Two Venetian Ladies* in the Museo Correr in Venice (Fig. 3). In support of this proposal, one may note the presence of a vase at the upper left which contains the lower stem of a severed lily, which would conveniently complete the lily in the Getty *Bird Hunt*. Equally, the color of the background in the Correr painting would blend quite well with the water in the *Bird Hunt*. Attractive and ingenious as this hypothesis may be, it has a number of debilitating problems. The Getty panel is painted on both sides, whereas the one in the Correr is

5. The print by Giacomo Franco is illustrated in Busiri-Vici, *op. cit.*, 1963, tavola 148d.

6. His reconstruction is illustrated in Busiri-Vici, *op. cit.*, 1963, tavola 148c.

7. For the hypothesis itself, see G. Robertson, "Review of J. Lauts, *Carpaccio, Paintings and Drawings*," *Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, p. 158 and

C. L. Ragghianti, "L'Architettura Musicale del Carpaccio," *L'Espresso*, July 7, 1963. For his renunciation of this view see G. Robertson, "The Carpaccio Exhibition in Venice," *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1963, p. 389. This theory has not been accepted in any publication on Carpaccio since 1963.



Figure 3. *Two Venetian Ladies*. Carpaccio. Venice, Museo Correr. Photo: Alinari.

not. The Correr painting has been cut laterally, while the *Bird Hunt* shows no aesthetic indications of having been reduced at its sides. This is very important since the two panels are virtually the same width. Furthermore, the *trompe l'oeil* image on the back of the Getty panel (Fig. 2) has clearly been cut at the bottom and not at the sides, which would mean that, if it was once part of the same panel as the *Two Venetian Ladies*, the back must have been painted after the panel was dismembered and then cut again. Further problems relating to this theory are the presence of the arms of the Torella family on the vase in the *Two Venetian Ladies* as opposed to the name Mocenigo which appears on a *cartellino* on the back of the *Bird Hunt* and the difficulty in imagining a bird hunt in the lagoons behind Venice taking place in front of what appears to be the balcony or terrace of a Venetian palace.⁸ On balance, though the hypothesis is attractive, it does not hold up to close scrutiny.⁹

There is a third possibility which is similar to Busiri-



Figure 4. *St. Ursula Taking Leave of her Father (?)*. Carpaccio. London, National Gallery.

Vici's in some respects, but which is closer to existing Renaissance examples. I would suggest that the panel was cut by about eight to ten inches at the bottom and that it originally showed the lily in a vase which was set on a ledge. An image behind a parapet exists in uncountable examples in the Renaissance and is most often used for portraits and paintings of the Madonna and Child. A highly relevant example in our context is the so-called *St. Ursula taking Leave of her Father* in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 4) by Carpaccio, in which an extensive narrative takes place behind a foreground ledge with a bird and two *cartellini* on it. It is also possible that the parapet was not painted but part of the enframing of the painting itself. In other words, the lower section of the actual carved frame would have served as the ledge upon which the painted vase would have appeared to rest. In this case, the frame would have acted—as, for example, in Bellini's *San Zaccaria Altarpiece*—is an active participant in the creation of spatial illusion. Unlike that famous contempo-

8. The identification of the Torella arms on the vase in the Correr panel is due to G. Ludwig and P. Molmenti, *Vittore Carpaccio: La Vita e le Opere*, Milan, 1906, p. 282.

9. A comparison of types of wood and wood grain would be the surest method of proving or disproving this theory. Unfortunately, X-rays of the Correr panel have not been available. P. Zampetti, *Vittore Carpaccio*,

Venice, 1966, p. 67 says that the quality of the woods in the two panels are different, but does not give more specific data. M. Muraro, *Carpaccio*, Florence, 1966, p. 93, has suggested that the *Bird Hunt* might have been part of a much larger religious painting. This is theoretically possible, but the hunt shown in this panel seems very elaborate for a background unrelated to the main theme. It is also a bit difficult to imagine the con-



Figure 5. *St. Jerome in his Study*. Antonello da Messina or Jacometto Veneziano. London, National Gallery.

rary work, which is of monumental scale and purpose, the Getty panel would have been part of a more intimate illusion. A comparable case in terms of effect—though here the illusion is entirely painted—would be the *St. Jerome in his Study* which is commonly ascribed to Antonello da Messina (Fig. 5). In this famous and endlessly subtle painting one is made to believe that he is looking through a window into St. Jerome's study. On the window ledge appear two birds and a basin, just as in the Getty panel one finds a large form in the immediate foreground, only in the latter case it is sharply cut down.

With this possibility in mind, the severed lily in the *Bird Hunt* becomes less anomalous, but the specific illusionistic intent is not yet clarified. This becomes somewhat clearer when the back of the panel is considered (Fig. 2). In it one sees the illusion of a marble frame or niche of late *quattrocento* architectural style enframing a series of letters hung on a rope which is nailed to the inside of the frame. These letters carry a variety of inscriptions which may have reli-

gious exhortive meanings and some which are either illegible or not intelligible.¹⁰ Of greatest importance is part of the letter just to the left of center, on which one can still read "...nd Mozenigo." This has been sensibly interpreted as referring to Andrea Mocenigo, a member of the great Venetian patrician family, who entered the *Maggior Consiglio* in 1491 at the age of eighteen. Lauts has gone on to suggest that a member of the Mocenigo family may have commissioned the painting, an unprovable but inviting possibility.¹¹ In any event, this side of the panel is the first surviving *trompe l'oeil* rendering of its kind in Italian painting. In certain respects, it may be compared with illusionistic *intarsie* on the fifteenth century and also anticipates Jacopo de' Barbari's *Still-Life* of 1504 in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Fig. 6).¹² However, it is a remarkably fresh and novel creation, giving one a further sense of the innovative naturalism of the painter of the panel.

In addition to being of great interest for its artistic qualities, the back provides extremely important clues for reconstructing the original appearance and purpose of the panel. It clearly demonstrates that the panel was cut at the bottom but gives no suggestion of being narrowed at the sides. In addition, at the upper left there is an iron hinge which is contemporary with the painting of the back. Equally, at the upper right of the illusionistic frame, there is a space which was once filled by another hinge or latch which may have been original. This second hinge was removed by the early nineteenth century when the Roman customs stamp was affixed at the time the painting entered Rome in the collection of Cardinal Fesch. These hinges (or latch in the second case) strongly encourage the belief that the panel was made for some utilitarian purpose. Lauts proposed that it was the door of a cupboard, an idea which cannot be dismissed and which would tie it together with comparable instances in the use of *intarsia* illusions in the fifteenth century.¹³ Militating against this thesis is the difficulty of imagining a patron commissioning a painting on the inside of a cupboard door which would almost never be seen.

A more inviting possibility is that the panel was employed as a window shutter. When the shutter was closed a person inside would have seen the *Bird Hunt* framed by the actual window frame. He would have looked at a window, with a lily in a vase on it, and beyond into a scene on the Venetian lagoons. What better way can one imag-

figuration of this hypothetical painting given the proportions of the hunt and the lily and also the fact that the painting appears to have been reduced in height alone.

10. For a transcription of what remains of these letters and a reasonable interpretation of them, see Busiri-Vici, *op. cit.*, 1963, p. 347.

11. J. Lauts, *Carpaccio, Paintings and Drawings*, London, 1962, p. 248.

12. It is interesting to note that L. Servolini, *Jacopo de' Barbari*, Padua, 1944 identifies Jacometto Veneziano as the same person as Jacopo de' Barbari. This view is not accepted by any other scholar and seems surely incorrect.

13. Lauts, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 248.



Figure 6. *Still Life*. Jacopo de' Barbari. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Hoefle.

ine fulfilling the Renaissance conception of the painting as a window! When the shutter was opened, it would have been apart from the window frame and forced to hold its own as a visual image. Therefore, in this case the artist frames the *trompe l'oeil* letters for the viewer and creates a self-sustaining imagery. A further level of subtlety is achieved by having the light in the painting move from left to right, casting shadows along the right edge, just as the real light from the window would have gone across the open shutter from the left to right (as the location of the hinge at left compels). Finally, if the missing metal device at right was a latch, it would have been used to hold the shutter in place, a usage still frequently found in Italy and elsewhere today.

The historical background for an elaborate illusion of seeing an outdoor scene from within a house is relatively sparse in the fifteenth century. There are many *intarsie* which give this suggestion, but the medium itself with its limited color and characteristic texture does not truly convey a convincing illusion. A much closer parallel has been suggested by Professor Ulrich Middeldorf. He pointed to a frescoed room in the castle of Issogne in the Val d'Aosta,

which was decorated at the turn of the fifteenth century.¹⁴ The artistic quality of the frescoes is not terribly high, though they show great charm and animation, and unfortunately their author remains unknown to us. On the other hand, they give a nearly unique concrete instance of a type of art which the vicissitudes of fate have nearly obliterated. Through alternating fictive brocades and crystal columns, one sees the illusion of contemporary scenes of nature, with emphasis on the hunt (Figs. 7–8). One may reasonably assume that so compelling an idea could not have emerged in a provincial place, but that only the accidents of history have left the most elaborate example in Issogne.¹⁵ One should not even begin to speculate on a direct comparison between the frescoes in Issogne and the Getty *Bird Hunt*. Nevertheless, they provide a clear indication of the kind of decorative illusionism which the painter of the Getty panel and his patron must have well understood and appreciated and which triumphed in the sixteenth century in the Sala delle Prospettive of Peruzzi and the Master frescoes of Veronese.

The final question is the authorship of this panel. Since its recent rediscovery, virtually all scholars have attributed it to Carpaccio, beginning with the initial publication of Fiocco.¹⁶ The argument in favor of Carpaccio is clear and straightforward. In paintings such as *A Miracle of the Relic of the True Cross*, Accademia, Venice (Fig. 9), Carpaccio reveals himself as a careful and devoted observer of the Venetian environment. Boatmen vividly portrayed in scenes of water proliferate in the best of his works and reveal a sensitivity to this kind of peculiarly Venetian effect that is unrivaled among his major contemporaries (Fig. 10). At the same time, he was a dedicated student of animal and plant life, as is beautifully evidenced in the *Portrait of Francesco Maria delle Rovere* in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano (detail, Fig. 11). Finally, the interest in still life objects, which lies behind the formulation of the back of the Getty panel, recurs with great resonance throughout *The Vision of St. Augustine* in the Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.

The only scholar to voice significant objection to the attribution to Carpaccio was Muraro.¹⁷ Although he gives few specific reasons for his opinion, one may suggest a number of weaknesses in the association of this painting

14. This was communicated to me in a personal conversation. The author is very grateful to Professor Middeldorf for his generous assistance with this point. For the Issogne frescoes see A. Griseri, *Affreschi nel Castello di Issogne*, Milan, 197–.

15. This was strongly suggested to me by Professor Middeldorf who also pointed out that *intarsie* makers undoubtedly followed the example of painters in their illusionistic designs and it is only the greater durability of their medium which has led to the much higher survival rate of *intarsie* examples.

16. G. Fiocco, "La 'Caccia in Valle' di Vittore Carpaccio," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, XLIV, 1955, pp. 61–70. Other scholars who have accepted the Carpaccio attribution are: B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Venetian School*, 1957, V.1, p. 59; Lauts, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 248; Busiri-Vici, *op. cit.*, 1963, p. 346; Robertson, *op. cit.*, 1963, p. 158; Ragghianti, *op. cit.*, 1963; P. Zampetti, *Vittore Carpaccio, Catalogo della Mostra*, 2nd Ed., Venice, 1963, p. LIII; P. Zampetti, *op. cit.*, 1966, p. 55. It is listed as a work attributed to Carpaccio in G. Perocco, *Tutta la Pittura del Carpaccio*, Milan, 1960, p. 84 and M. Cancogni and G. Perocco,



Figure 7. Fresco decoration. Issogne, Castello, Sala Baronale. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

with Carpaccio. In the *Bird Hunt* there is an almost architectonic clarity to the composition which is at variance with the looser and freer character of the majority of Carpaccio's works. One senses that the painter has gone to very great lengths to make sure that each detail participates in the overall harmony of the whole and that very little is present for the sake of variety. This is very different from the normal tendency to proliferate detail that one sees in Carpaccio (Fig. 9). Finally, in Carpaccio's paintings, whether one looks at figures or at details of nature (Fig. 11), there is a breadth and lack of precision evident. Many of the figures in his paintings have no real volumetric feeling and the clarification of contour is not a primary aim in most instances. In the *Bird Hunt*, by contrast, there is a highly successful effort throughout to present every figure within a carefully described spatial setting and to set out the volumes of form with absolute legibility.

Muraro tentatively put forward the name of Jacometto Veneziano as the possible painter of the Getty panel. There is very little surviving material about Jacometto's life and career, and hardly any of his works survive.¹⁸ The principal source for our knowledge of him is Marcantonio



Figure 8. Hunt Scene. Issogne, Castello, Sala Baronale. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.

L'Opera Completa del Carpaccio, Milan, 1967, p. 88.

17. Muraro, *op. cit.*, 1966, pp. 93–5.

18. By far the most complete account of the material concerning Jacometto is available in Servolini, *op. cit.*, 1944, pp. 21–41. See also, M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues, The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2nd Ed., 1961, pp. 257–60 and F. Zeri (with the assistance of E. E. Gardner), *Italian Paintings, A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Venetian School*, New York, 1973, pp. 34–6. *The Portrait of a Young*



Figure 9. *A Miracle of the Relic of the True Cross*. Carpaccio. Venice, Accademia. Photo: Bohm.

Michiel, who gives a quite extensive list of paintings and drawings by Jacometto in Venetian and Paduan collections.¹⁹ There are a number of portraits, including one in profile of Pietro Bembo which was seen by Michiel in Bembo's house in Padua. Of particular interest for the present context are two of Michiel's notes. In the house of Zuanantonio Venier he saw a small painting of animals "de chiaro et scuro," whereas in the house of Gabriel Vendramin he noted a small book with pen drawings of animals and candelabras. Jacometto was also highly regarded as a miniaturist, as is revealed in a letter by a contemporary, who praises the miniatures of Giulio Campagnola by saying that they are not inferior to those of Jacometto, "... che fo el primo homo del mondo."²⁰ Finally, the high esteem with which Jacometto was considered is reflected in the fact that his work was collected by many of the same patrons who owned paintings by Giorgione.²¹

Of the various works by Jacometto listed by Michiel and other sources, only one small pair of portraits have been identified (Figs. 12–15), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection.²² They were seen by Michiel

Man in the Metropolitan Museum (49.7.3); the *Portrait of a Woman*, Saltwood Castle, Lord Clark; the *Portrait of a Boy*, London, National Gallery (2509); and the *Portrait of a Man*, London, National Gallery (3121) are the only paintings generally accepted as being by Jacometto other than the Lehman portraits discussed below.

19. The documentary material on Jacometto is gathered in handy form in Servolini, *op. cit.*, 1944, pp. 23–8.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

21. Among them were Gabriele Vendramin, Zuan Antonio Venier, and Antonio Pasqualino.

22. For these see Servolini, *op. cit.*, 1944, pp. 27–30 and J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, Washington, 1966, 211–2.

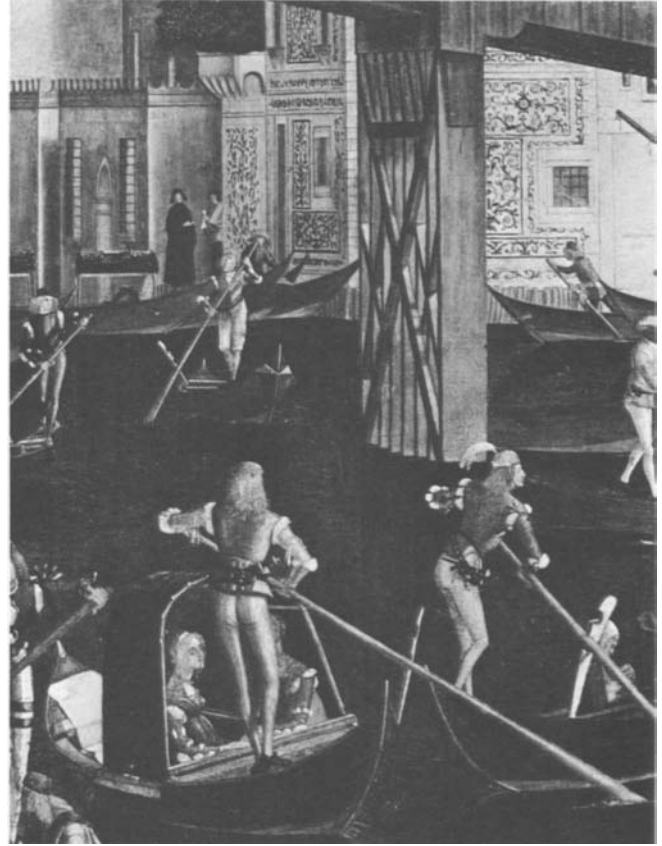


Figure 10. *A Miracle of the Relic of the True Cross* (detail). Carpaccio. Venice, Accademia. Photo: Rossi.



Figure 11. *Portrait of Francesco Maria delle Rovere* (detail). Carpaccio. Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Photo: Salmi Archive (Getty).



Figure 12. *Portrait of Alvise Contarini*. Jacometto Veneziano. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.



Figure 13. *Portrait of a Nun of San Secondo*. Jacometto Veneziano. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.



Figure 14. *A Hind Chained to a Roundel*. Jacometto Veneziano. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.



Figure 15. *Landscape with a Seated Figure*. Jacometto Veneziano. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.

in the house of Michele Contarini and were then kept together under an elaborate leather cover. On the back of the male portrait there is a hind attached to a roundel (Fig. 14); the animal is depicted with great clarity and luminosity. Of equal interest is the landscape on the back of the female portrait, which is unfortunately badly worn (Fig. 15). Despite its poor state of preservation, it is a recognizably important step in the development of Venetian landscape painting, effectively conveying a spirit not far removed from that of Giorgione's *Tempesta*. The portraits give us the clearest conception of Jacometto's style. They are exacting in their subtlety and precision of surface modeling. Throughout both portraits, luminosity and a volumetric depiction of form are united. The landscapes behind each of the figures show sensitivity to light and its continually changing interplay with form which clearly echoes the effect of the *Bird Hunt*. The depiction of water is particularly fine, with a careful recording of the gradations of tone and color. Even the specific handling of clouds and sky relate the miniature portraits to the Getty panel. The figures provide scant basis for comparison, but one may note a marked similarity in the treatment of drapery forms in the veil of the female portrait (Fig. 14) and in the white tunic of the figure in the immediate right foreground of the *Bird Hunt* (Fig. 1). In general, comparison of the miniature portraits with the *Bird Hunt* reveals great similarity of both technique and artistic outlook.

Neither of the small portraits provides a basis for comparison in terms of compositional structure, which is a major impediment to a firm attribution of the *Bird Hunt* to Jacometto. One possible way of approaching this question is through consideration of the *St. Jerome in his Study* in London (Fig. 5), which is usually ascribed to Antonello.²³ Michiel vacillates on the attribution, apparently preferring the attribution to Jacometto, but noting that some people favor Antonello or Jan Van Eyck or Memling.²⁴ Although virtually all modern scholars attribute the painting to Antonello, it clearly represents what Michiel and others thought to be Jacometto's style. In many respects it can be related to the *Bird Hunt*, though admittedly one

must be cautious in depending too heavily on the relationship. There exists a common concern for illusionism and a rich and diverse feeling for light and for naturalistic detail in the two paintings. Moreover, while their settings are entirely different, there is a similar compositional feeling in the orderly and carefully balanced progression into the background and in the exacting symmetry of form. One may conclude either that the *St. Jerome in his Study* and the *Bird Hunt* are by the same artist or, more probably, by two very closely related painters. The question of the attribution of the London *St. Jerome* should be left open to further discussion, keeping in mind both the early report by Michiel and the difficulty scholars have encountered in dating the painting in the context of Antonello's career.²⁵ On the other hand, it clearly evokes the tradition from which the *Bird Hunt* emerged. When one considers that to Michiel and his contemporaries the styles of Jacometto and Antonello had become almost indistinguishable from one another, it may be reasonably deduced that the relationship between the two paintings supports an attribution to Jacometto. If the *Bird Hunt* is by Jacometto, it would probably date from the early or middle of the last decade of the century, since Jacometto was dead by September of 1497.²⁶ It would then have been painted just before the decade which produced such great Venetian depictions of nature as Bellini's *Madonna of the Meadow* and Giorgione's *Tempesta*.

Inevitably, the attribution of the *Bird Hunt* must remain an open question, depending as it does, almost entirely, on stylistic criteria. Although there is much to support the ascription to Jacometto, the basis for understanding his work is pitifully narrow and all attributions to him beyond the miniature portraits in New York are suppositious. Nevertheless, the possibility that this panel may be the only surviving non-portrait by an artist highly esteemed by his contemporaries and later almost forgotten is tantalizing. In any event, it represents a major step in the development of Venetian naturalism and illusionism and is certainly one of the most significant Renaissance paintings to enter an American collection in recent years.

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Malibu

23. See Davies, *op. cit.*, 1961, pp. 40–1 and for the dissenting view Servolini, *op. cit.*, 1944, 31–3.

24. See Servolini, *op. cit.*, 1944, p. 26. Michiel also states that some people believe that the figure of the saint was repainted by Jacometto. Joyce Plesters informs me that there is nothing to suggest repainting; therefore, this theory must be discarded.

25. For a brief review of the extremely divergent datings given for this painting, see L. Sciascia and G. Mandel, *L'Opera Completa di Antonello da Messina*, Milan, 1967, p. 95. Opinions have ranged from as early as around 1460 to approximately 1475, a very substantial difference, especially in the context of an artist with a relatively short working life.

26. The document of September 10, 1497 mentioning Jacometto as deceased appears in Servolini, *op. cit.*, 1944, p. 28.

A Condition Report of a Fifteenth Century Panel Painting

When the Venetian painting called *The Bird Hunt* by Vittore Carpaccio was received in the conservation laboratory, a visual examination and analytical tests were carried out to determine the state of its condition and the extent of prior restoration. Both sides and left and right edges bear various paint and gesso layers, the recto showing the painting called *The Bird Hunt* and the verso a *Trompe l'oeil Still Life; Letters Suspended in a Doorway*.

The support of the paintings is a two plank edge joined spruce¹ panel measuring 76 cm. in height and 63 cm. in width, with a depth of 1.8–1.9 cm. There is a slight convex warp to the front. Set into the upper left side of the back is an iron hinge covered in a solder-like coating of lead and tin² measuring 16 cm. in length. It is attached by four nails with faceted heads. On the opposite side of the panel, there is an empty inset that closely follows the dimensions of the remaining hinge with only two blunt headed nails surviving. A radiograph taken of the panel also shows a metal staple imbedded in the lower left portion. The panel itself is in stable condition, no movement being evident in arc of the warp. Microscopic analysis revealed the ground layer on both sides and edges to be a creamy colored gesso. The top and bottom edges of the panel appear to have been reduced and show no traces of either paint or gesso.

The area over the “doorway” on the verso seems to have been scraped, and only a few small pieces of original paint and gesso remain running up the length of the right and left sides. It is possible this scraping was meant as a treatment for severely flaking paint. Some original paint and gesso were found on the hinge where it bends around the left edge of the panel.³ A trace of gesso was found in

the empty hinge slot, but it was not definitely determined to be original. Flaking has occurred front and back at the gesso support interface; this has been stabilized on the front by prior restoration. The back, however, had been treated unsuccessfully with a waxy substance and has required further treatment for continued flaking.

In order to determine the condition of the paint layers front and back, it was necessary to differentiate the restoration from the original. Ultra-violet fluorescence to the front of the painting revealed that repaint had been applied to small flaked losses throughout the design layer. Repaint was also applied in a liberal wash over areas of abrasion and apparent thinning in the lower third of the painting, natural aging of the paint film being perceived by the previous restorer as wear. The reverse had suffered more over the years, bearing the marks of excessive and careless restoration. Ultra-violet fluorescence shows that the entire area within the doorway, other than the letters and the ribbon on which they hang, had been totally overpainted, as well as the area over the door, which fluoresced at a different rate.

Upon removal of the over paint, the true condition of the original paint films could be observed (see photos no. 1 and no. 2). Without gas chromatography, Carpaccio's medium cannot be accurately determined. However, it appears to be a mixed technique using tempera with oil glazes.

In summation, it can be said that *The Bird Hunt* is in good condition for a painting of this period. The “letters” panel, although showing losses of a more severe nature, retains a fresh quality befitting one of the first known still life paintings.

Susan Webster-Page
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

1. Wood identification by Joyce Plesters, National Gallery, London.

2. X-ray Fluorescence Analysis of the metal hinge by John Twilley, conservation scientists.

3. Twilley's microscopic analysis revealed the pigment on the hinge as ochre lying upon a ground of gesso, the same materials found on both the reverse and the edge of the panel.



Figure 1. *Bird Hunt*, during/after cleaning. Jacometto Veneziano (?). Malibu. (Compare Goldner, Fig. 1, p. 24.)

Figure 2. *Trompe l'oeil Still Life; Letters Suspended in a Doorway*, during/after cleaning. Jacometto Veneziano (?). Malibu. (Compare Goldner, Fig. 2, p. 25.)



Note sulla pittura lucchese alla fine del Quattrocento

Situata all'estremità occidentale della Toscana, in una zona naturalmente periferica rispetto ai grandi assi di comunicazione che collegavano le signorie e le maggiori repubbliche italiane, Lucca dominava alla fine del Quattrocento un territorio privo di un'identità geo-fisica precisa, compreso tra la catena appenninica e le valli della Garfagnana, i fiumi Arno e Magra, i dorsali delle valli del Pesciatino e il mare. Quest'area non vasta, la cui estensione appare stabilizzata nella prima metà del Quattrocento dopo una progressiva riduzione territoriale durata circa otto secoli, rimarrà praticamente inalterata fino alla soppressione della repubblica, nel 1805.¹ Non è chiaro quale sia stato il ruolo economico effettivo di questo territorio nel contesto dell'economia della repubblica lucchese, impostata su attività produttive essenzialmente urbane, di tipo artigianale e industriale. La campagna lucchese ebbe in ogni caso una funzione importantissima per la città non solo dal punto di vista militare e giuridico, ma anche da quello commerciale perché assicurava, con le sue propagine estreme verso nord (in Garfagnana e lungo il litorale), l'accesso alle vie di comunicazione in direzione dei

centri europei nei quali si commerciavano i tessuti prodotti in città.²

Per secoli Lucca ha infatti amministrato il contado con una grande attenzione, suddividendolo in quattro zone concentriche ("suburbio," "distretto," "contado," "forza") e elargendo agli abitanti vari benefici. Un riflesso di questa accurata gestione della campagna si coglie anche nella produzione artistica. Contrariamente a quanto si può riscontrare in altre regioni, e con l'unica eccezione dei dipinti ad affresco,³ non esistono infatti differenze notevoli di tecnica, di stile o di composizione tra le opere eseguite nel corso della seconda metà del Quattrocento per le chiese di città e quelle fatte fare per le chiese di campagna.⁴ Inoltre l'originaria collocazione dei dipinti rispecchia fedelmente l'estensione del territorio dello stato. Non è stato possibile reperire una sola opera dovuta a un pittore lucchese al di fuori dei confini della repubblica, sebbene, fino al Cinquecento, le terre amministrate dal vescovo di Lucca fossero ben più vaste di quelle su cui la città esercitava il proprio dominio.⁵

Non si conosce con esattezza il momento in cui si stabili

Questo scritto riprende in parte il testo di una conferenza letta all'University of California, Los Angeles, il 23 aprile 1980, organizzata nell'ambito del programma di ricerche promosse dal J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. Esso si avvale di alcune informazioni tratte da un'ampia inchiesta storica sul Quattrocento lucchese di Maurizia Tazartes Nardini, ancora in corso.

1. Ricerca storica fondamentale su Lucca, ancora oggi di grande utilità, è quella di G. Tommasi, *Sommario della storia di Lucca dall'anno MIV all'anno MDCC*, pubblicato in: "Archivio Storico Italiano," X, Firenze 1847. Un moderno riepilogo è quello di A. Mancini, *Storia di Lucca*, Firenze, 1950. Estesa e sovente di notevole interesse è bibliografia su periodi o temi specifici della storia lucchese. Si notino comunque C. Meek, *Lucca 1369-1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State*, New York, 1978, e per il Cinquecento il bellissimo studio di M. Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento*, Torino, 1974.

2. L'estensione del territorio lucchese nel Trecento si deduce principalmente dagli statuti del comune; cf. S. Bongi-S. Del Prete, *Statuto del Comune di Lucca dell'anno 1308*, in: "Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca," III, Lucca, 1867; B. Gigliotti, *Dissertazioni sopra la legislazione lucchese*, in: "Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca," III, Lucca, 1867; G. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 sg.

3. I dipinti ad affresco eseguiti nella seconda metà del Quattrocento sembrano in effetti tutti localizzati in città. Manca tuttavia ancora un'indagine adeguata sulla pittura murale nelle chiese della campagna lucchese prima dei rinnovamenti architettonici del Settecento e dell'Ottocento. Tracce di affreschi non ancora scoperti appaiono, per esempio, nella controfacciata della chiesa parrocchiale di Boveglio. In Lucca, i cicli affrescati più importanti sono localizzati nelle chiese di San Martino, San Frediano, San Francesco.

4. Questa osservazione è pertinente solo per le opere eseguite da maestri lucchesi tra il 1485 circa e la fine del secolo.

5. L'estensione della diocesi lucchese in periodo longobardo, franco e comunale si ricostruisce a partire da G. D. Mansi, *Diario sacro antico e moderno delle chiese di Lucca*, Lucca, 1753; E. Repetti, *Dizionario corografico della Toscana*, Milano, 1855; G. Barsotti, *Guida di Lucca sacra*, Lucca, 1923; A. Guerra, *Compendio di storia ecclesiastica lucchese dalle origini a tutto il 1100* (con note di P. Guidi), Lucca, 1924; L. Nanni, *La parrocchia studiata nei documenti lucchesi dei secoli VIII-XIII*, in: "Analecta Gregoriana," XLVII, 1948, pp. 2 sg.; U. Nicolai, *I vescovi di Lucca*, Lucca, 1966; P. Lazzarini, *Storia della chiesa di Lucca*, I, Lucca, 1968; II, Lucca, 1974. La prima sostanziale riduzione dell'estensione delle diocesi fu dovuta a Leone X nel 1519, che ne escluse Pescia, la Valdinievole e la Valleariana.



Figure 1. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Madonna con il Bambino tra i santi Gerolamo, Caterina e donatore*. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

a Lucca il regime comunale, ma le allusioni contenute nei più antichi statuti oggi noti, del 1308, consentono di supporre che questo tipo di organizzazione politica fosse già in vigore alla fine del secolo XII.⁶ È questo il periodo di maggiore prosperità economica; durante il XIII e il XIV secolo il prestigio di cui godono le sete lucchesi in Europa è assoluto. La città viveva su questa produzione raffinata e costosissima, basata sulla lavorazione di una materia prima che proveniva da terre lontane, l'Italia meridionale, la Sicilia, la Cina.⁷ Essa esigeva grandi capitali di investimento e una rete efficace di distribuzione. I mercanti lucchesi, fondatori di comunità importanti a Londra, Bruges, Parigi, Lione, Avignone, Genova, Venezia e in altri centri italiani, assicuravano dall'estero la prosperità della città. La produzione e la vendita dei tessuti di seta sono il fatto maggiore nella storia economica di Lucca e lo rimarranno anche quando nel secolo XV, in seguito alla concorrenza esercitata da altre città, questa attività declinerà progressivamente.

La storia culturale di Lucca risulta incomprensibile se non si tiene conto del valore normativo che ebbe l'organizzazione delle varie fasi della lavorazione della seta e del commercio. Raggruppati nelle varie Arti, gli artigiani dei vari settori erano sottomessi ad una legislazione precisissima, tesa a garantire la qualità della produzione e a evitare inutili concorrenze.⁸ Gli Statuti della Corte dei Mercanti, varati nel 1376 e aggiornati a più riprese nel secolo XV,⁹ mostrano la supremazia di questa categoria sociale, che controllava non solo il commercio ma anche le varie fasi di lavorazione della seta, dell'abbigliamento, della ocreficeria, che aveva la facoltà di punire varie categorie di lavoratori, calzolari, farmacisti, alberghieri disonesti. L'organismo giuridico tramite il quale funzionava la Corte dei Mercanti è d'altra parte la migliore immagine del regime politico della città. Il Consiglio Generale, composto di 36 membri tra cui 21 appartenenti all'Arte della Seta, eleggeva 7 Consoli, cui era delegata l'attività legislativa e che a loro volta ricorrevano a Ufficiali e Messi per i controlli e l'applicazione delle leggi. Il Maggior Con-

solo, scelto tra i 7 Consoli per la durata di un anno, era l'ufficiale supremo della Corte e quello su cui gravavano le maggiori responsabilità. Tutte le cariche duravano da un minimo di due mesi a un massimo di un anno. Questa ripartizione del potere, questa forma elaborata di democrazia selettiva, l'ansia che suscitava il timore di veder sorgere un potere personale e che rivela la breve durata delle cariche sono lo specchio fedele dell'organizzazione oligarchica della città. Dal 1369, anno in cui si liberò da più di vent'anni di dominio pisano, fino alla fine del secolo XVIII Lucca organizzò la propria vita politica su questi principi. Unica eccezione di rilievo: la signoria di Paolo Guinigi, dal 1400 al 1430, la cui incidenza sulla storia dell'arte non è stata ancora sufficientemente chiarita.

Il particolare assetto politico, la struttura sociale e l'accurata organizzazione del lavoro rendono Lucca un caso singolare nel contesto storico dell'Italia quattrocentesca. La piccola repubblica rivela infatti strutture e stratificazione sociale che la apparentano più con città-stato del nord delle Alpi (quale Ginevra, dove si stabiliranno molte famiglie lucchesi emigrate in seguito alla controriforma cattolica) che con altri stati italiani contemporanei. Un'analogia singolarità coinvolge anche la produzione artistica di questo periodo, sistematicamente anonima, omogenea dal punto di vista dello stile, marcata da fattori che più ricorrono in zone marginali o periferiche (come le aree di confine del Piemonte occidentale o della Liguria) che nei territori dell'Italia centrale. Alcune considerazioni sui maestri attivi in questo periodo consentiranno di precisare quali furono le componenti stilistiche principali che condizionarono questa produzione.

IL MAESTRO DEL TONDO LATHROP

Il J. Paul Getty Museum possiede un dipinto che secondo la tradizione è stato acquistato a Lucca alla fine del secolo scorso (ill. 1); fu in seguito la proprietà (dal 1906 al 1929 circa) di Francis Lathrop, un collezionista di New York con il cui nome gli storici designano convenzionalmente la personalità artistica che lo ha eseguito.¹⁰ Esso

6. G. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 sg.

7. La bibliografia sull'industria serica lucchese è abbondante; si ricorderanno C. Massei, *Dell'arte della seta in Lucca dalla sua origine sino al presente*, Lucca, 1843; S. Bongi, *Della mercatura dei lucchesi nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Lucca, 1858; E. Barsotti, *Sulle origini dell'arte della seta in Lucca*, Lucca, 1905; *Mostra del costume e sete lucchesi*, Lucca, Palazzo Mansi, 1967.

8. Si veda soprattutto S. Bongi, *Inventario del Real Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, Lucca, 1872, e E. Lazzareschi, *Fonti d'archivio per lo studio delle corporazioni artigiane di Lucca*, in: "Bollettino Storico Lucchese," 1937, pp. 65-160. Documenti importanti sulle organizzazioni artigiane sono inoltre pubblicati in appendice al *Sommario cit.* di G. Tommasi, da A. Mazzarosa, *Sulla condizione delle Arti e degli Artigiani in Lucca dai primi del*

secolo sino al 1847, Lucca, 1847; da S. Bongi, *Bandi lucchesi del secolo XIV*, Bologna, 1863; da E. Ridolfi, *Diporti artistici*, in "Arti della Real Accademia lucchese," Lucca, 1868, pp. 187-277.

9. A. Mancini, U. Dorini, E. Lazzareschi, *Lo Statuto della Corte dei Mercanti in Lucca del 1376*, Firenze 1927.

10. Olio su tavola; diametro 101, 5 cm. Il dipinto è stato acquistato dal museo nel 1968 presso Wildenstein a New York. La bibliografia sull'opera è riepilogata da B.B. Fredericksen, *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1972, pp. 21-22. Un'ottima presentazione critica della bibliografia relativa al Maestro del tondo Lathrop, in M. Ferretti, *Percorso lucchese*, in: "Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia," Serie III, V/3, 1975, pp. 1055-1056, n. 29.



Figure 2. Bernardino del Castelletto, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. San Pietro a Vico, Chiesa parrocchiale. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

rappresenta la Madonna che allatta il Bambino, seduta su di un trono posto contro una parete di marmo, affiancata a sinistra da san Gerolamo e a destra da santa Caterina d'Alessandria. In basso, ai piedi della Vergine, in atteggiamento di devozione, è ritratto un uomo in età giovanile, probabilmente il committente del dipinto. La provenienza lucchese di quest'opera non fa alcun dubbio. Nella parte superiore del trono compaiono infatti gli stemmi di due importanti famiglie lucchesi, quello dei Guinigi a sinistra e quello dei Buonvisi a destra.¹¹ È noto che un matrimonio tra Michele Guinigi e Caterina Buonvisi fu celebrato nel 1496; diversi scrittori hanno associato quest'episodio al dipinto, notando inoltre come quella data ben si addica allo stile dell'opera.¹² Alcuni elementi rimangono comunque poco chiari. Santa Caterina è la santa appropriata a rappresentare simbolicamente un personaggio che porti il suo stesso nome, quale potrebbe essere Caterina Buonvisi. Meno pertinente è invece l'associazione di san Gerolamo con il giovane devoto, se in lui bisogna identificare, come è molto probabile, il Michele Guinigi citato dai documenti. San Gerolamo di addirebbe piuttosto al padre dello

11. L'identificazione degli stemmi si deve a G. Arrighi, in: "Nuovo Corriere," 1955, 30 luglio, p. 4.

12. C.L. Ragghianti, *Filippino Lippi a Lucca, l'altare Magrini, nuovi problemi e nuove soluzioni*, in: "Critica d'Arte," VII, 1960, 37, pp. 283-284; E. Fahy, *A Lucchese follower of Filippino Lippi*, in "Paragone," 1965, 185, pp. 9-10, 19; M. Ferretti, *ibidem*. Prima del corretta interpretazione degli stemmi, C. L. Ragghianti (*Il pittore dei Guinigi*, in: "Critica d'Arte," II,



Figure 3. Bernardino del Castelletto, *Madonna col Bambino, angeli e santi*. Massa, Duomo.

sposo, che per l'appunto portava quel nome. Ma in un dipinto come questo, che è supposto celebrare un matrimonio, fa curiosamente difetto il ritratto della donna che in questo caso specifico, con il proprio consenso, rendeva possibile l'alleanza di due fra le più consistenti imprese commerciali e bancarie del tempo.¹³

Il dipinto fornisce un altro elemento che può aiutare a chiarire la questione. Michele Guinigi indossa un ampio mantello foderato di pelliccia con grandi risvolti sul collo e sulle maniche. Questo tipo di abito è del tutto raro nella ritrattistica contemporanea in Italia centrale. Inoltre sembra contrastare singolarmente con le leggi in vigore in Lucca. Nel 1337 la città aveva infatti adottato gli ordinamenti suntuari, cioè una serie di prescrizioni molto precise concernenti l'abbigliamento, le feste private e altre manifestazioni, destinate a limitare l'esibizione del lusso privato, a ridurre le spese inutili e a frenare la contrazione demografica che si credeva legata al carattere eccessivamente dispendioso dei matrimoni.¹⁴ Riformate e rinnovate durante il Trecento e il Quattrocento, anzi ripubblicate nel 1482, 1484, 1489 e 1490, le leggi suntuarie furono uno

1955, 8, pp. 137-139) datava il dipinto agli anni 1502-1505.

13. Sui Buonvisi si veda ora M. Luzzati, in "Dizionario biografico degli Italiani."

14. Non esiste uno studio d'insieme sulla legislazione suntuaria lucchese, fonte essenziale per lo studio dell'arte e del costume. Documenti utili sono stati pubblicati da G. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, *Appendice*, e da S. Bongi, *op. cit.*, 1863. I primi accenni di statuto suntuario relativo ai fune-



Figure 4. Bernardino del Castelletto, *Angelo annunciante*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.



Figure 5. Bernardino del Castelletto, *Dormitio Virginis*. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery.

strumento molto efficace per preservare l'immagine democratica della città: esse limitavano il numero dei gioielli, imponevano la qualità dei tessuti e degli ornamenti che i cittadini, ognuno secondo la propria condizione sociale, potevano indossare. La rubrica XV dello statuto summuarium approvato il 22 gennaio 1362 concerne proprio il divieto dell'uso delle pellicce e prevede pene pecuniarie severe non solo per chi avesse indossato tali abiti ma anche per chi avesse ardito "talliare o cucire o lavorare, fare per sè o per altra persona in dela città di Lucha, borghi o sobborghi, contado, distrecto o forse di quella, a alcuna persona alcuni panni o vestimenti di sopra vietati."¹⁵ La moda di questo tipo di mantelli, utilissimi contro i rigori dell'inverno, era invece diffusa nelle regioni settentrionali dell'Italia e nei paesi del nord Europa. Alcuni ritratti famosi, come quello di *Petrus Aegidius* di Quentin Matsys nella collezione di Earl of Radnor a Longford Castle, *l'Autoritratto* di Dürer alla Alte Pinakothek di Monaco o quello di *Erasmus* di Hans Holbein il Giovane, firmato e datato 1523, anch'esso nella collezione di Earl of Radnor a Longford Castle,¹⁶ raffigurano tipi di mantello molto

simili a quello del tondo lucchese. L'adozione di una moda straniera a Lucca sarebbe allora da mettere in relazione con i rapporti mercantili che la città intratteneva con l'estero. I Guinigi avevano, in particolare, una succursale importante a Bruges.¹⁷ Per gestire il suo impero finanziario, la famiglia ricorreva non soltanto ad un'intensa attività epistolare ma anche a continui spostamenti, lunghi viaggi di lavoro che consentivano ai titolari di controllare l'operato degli impiegati. Può essere che il tipo di abito che Michele Guinigi indossa annunci un'assenza imminente o un ritorno recente. In questo caso il dipinto potrebbe raffigurare non tanto un matrimonio celebrato, ma la promessa, la stipulazione di una specie di contratto di fidanzamento con cui Michele si impegnava, con l'assenso del padre Gerolamo, a sposare Caterina Buonvisi non appena ciò fosse stato possibile. Questa ipotesi potrebbe chiarire alcune anomalie iconografiche del dipinto. Va aggiunto tuttavia che non esistono altri esempi, a quanto mi consta, di "tondi da fidanzamento" e che comunque, se questo anche ne fosse uno, il fatto poco inciderebbe sulla datazione dell'opera.¹⁸

rali e alle domestiche compaiono negli statuti del Comune del 1308 (G. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-93) e in quelli del 1331; analoghe prescrizioni furono pubblicate in modo autonomo per la prima volta l'11 aprile 1337 (S. Bongi, *op. cit.*, 1863, pp. 47-54) e rinnovate nel 1342, 1343, 1346, 1362, 1372, 1380, 1382, 1383, 1440, 1458, 1473, 1484, 1489, 1490, 1498. La letteratura sull'argomento è carente anche per altri centri italiani. Per Firenze, qualche accenno in D. Liscia, *Leggi suntuarie*, in: *L'oreficeria fio-*

rentina nella Firenze del Quattrocento, catalogo, Firenze, 1977, pp. 293-294, No. 185.

15. G. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

16. Cf. J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, (1966), Princeton 1979, pp. 96, 129.

17. Cf. P. Pelù, *Figure della vita economica medioevale lucchese: Michele di Lazzari Guinigi*, in: "La Provincia di Lucca," XVI, 1976, 3, pp. 13-19.

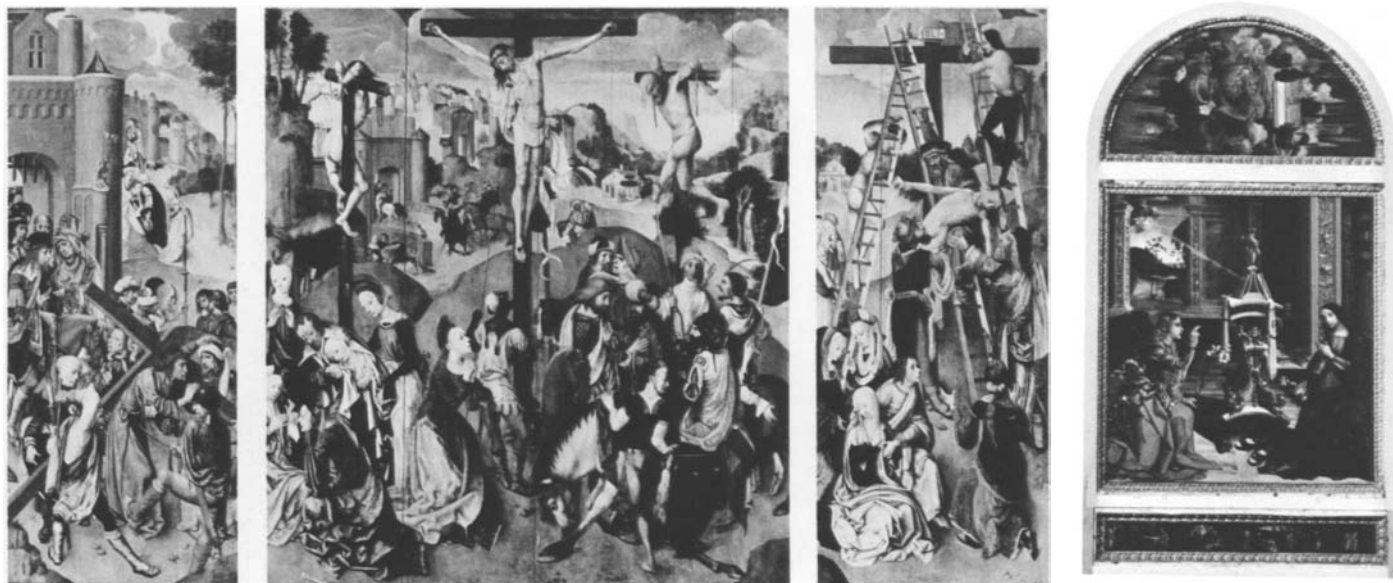


Figure 6. Maestro della Virgo inter Virgines, *Salita al Calvario, Crocefissione, Deposizione*. Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum.

Figure 7. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Annunciazione*. Santissima Annunziata, Chiesa parrocchiale. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

Altri elementi utili si possono trarre dall'analisi dei dati somatici del supporto. La tavola ha una forma rotonda e tale era all'origine, come ha dimostrato l'esame tecnico dei bordi e come indica anche la disposizione dei personaggi, disposti ai lati della Vergine in modo da poter essere inclusi nella superficie dipinta. Il formato collega quest'opera ad una serie di quadri dello stesso tipo che godettero di una grande fortuna in Europa soprattutto nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. È difficile indicare con precisione l'origine di questo formato particolare. Gli esempi più antichi sembrano essere stati prodotti nei primi vent'anni del secolo XV in Francia settentrionale e in Borgogna e sembrano avere in comune il tipo dei soggetti, tutti tratti o attinenti alla Passione di Cristo.¹⁹ Uno degli esempi più illustri è quello dipinto verso il 1400, attribuito più volte a Jean Malouel e conservato al Museo del Louvre.²⁰ Questo tondo, di dimensioni sensibilmente ridotte rispetto a quelle del tondo Lathrop, rappresenta sul recto la *Trinità e*

la *Pietà* e sul verso le armi del duca di Borgogna circondate da una corona di spine. Tralasciando le probabili allusioni politiche implicite nella rappresentazione della reliquia più venerata di Francia (la corona di spine)²¹ su di un dipinto eseguito per il duca di Borgogna, si può notare che in quest'opera, il cui formato è simile a quello di uno specchio, la morte di Cristo assume il valore di un esempio espiatorio; la Passione del Redentore è infatti per il devoto lo "speculum humanae salvationis."²² Associati a questo tema, i dipinti di formato rotondo furono probabilmente considerati all'origine come un richiamo visivo, un supporto iconografico agli esercizi domestici di penitenza e di mortificazione, come lo furono, in modo diverso, i "livres d'heures." Una parte di questo significato espiatorio, che lentamente si perse nel corso del Quattrocento, sembra sopravvivere nel tondo lucchese, dove la mela, posta al colmo del trono della Vergine, esattamente sull'asse centrale della composizione, allude probabilmente al peccato

18. È da rilevare come in un tondo venduto a Londra da Sotheby il 24 giugno 1953 (lot 20), pubblicato da M. Ferretti (*op. cit.*, p. 1041, n. 15) sotto il nome del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, compaiano ai lati della Madonna santi (Michele arcangelo, Gerolamo, Caterina, santo vescovo, forse Nicola) che ricordano quelli del tondo Lathrop. Potrebbe forse essere questa un'indicazione di una provenienza comune ai due dipinti.

19. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge 1953, pp. 168 sg.

20. C. Sterling-H. Adhémar, *Musée National du Louvre. Peintures. Ecole Française, XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1965, p. 4, No. 8.

21. La Corona di spine sarebbe giunta in Francia da Costantinopoli nel 1239, esposta alla Sainte-Chapelle di Parigi dal 1239 al 1791 e, dopo alcuni spostamenti in periodo rivoluzionario, conservata dal 1804 a Notre-Dame; cf. AA VV, *La couronne d'épines au royaume de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1939, pp. 21-22, 73 sg.

22. Cf. J. Lutz-P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Mülhausen, 1907-1909.

23. Sul significato della mela, simbolo della Tentazione e della Salvezza, cf. M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance. Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting*, Firenze, 1977, pp. 46-52.

24. E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-127.

originale che il Cristo, qui rappresentato infante, riscatterà con la sua Passione.²³ L'associazione del tema dell'infanzia del Cristo con quello della Passione non è infrequente²⁴ e in questo caso potrebbe essere confermato dal significato simbolico delle ciliegie che pendono dal filo di perle, sopra la figura di san Gerolamo.²⁵ Frutti simili compaiono, sparsi sulla mensa, nell'*Ultima Cena* affrescata da Domenico Ghirlandaio nel refettorio del convento di Ognisanti a Firenze, dove infatti simboleggiano il sangue versato dal Redentore.²⁶ È comunque importante rilevare in questo contesto che, indipendentemente dai possibili significati simbolici, i tondi dipinti ebbero nel Quattrocento una destinazione esclusivamente privata, furono cioè eseguiti per essere osservati e usati come oggetti di culto all'interno delle case signorili.

Tuttavia ciò che contraddistingue il tondo Lathrop, che lo rende in un certo senso anomalo rispetto ad altri tondi fiorentini contemporanei, è la struttura della composizione, in questo caso di impianto monumentale e ripartita in modo rigorosamente simmetrico, secondo uno schema fortemente radicato nella tradizione pittorica locale più appropriato alle pale d'altare, cioè a grandi dipinti di formato quadrato o rettangolare, che a questo particolare tipo di oggetti di destinazione domestica²⁷. Oltre a confermare la saldezza di alcuni criteri compositivi adottati a Lucca negli ultimi decenni del Quattrocento, questo fatto sembra indicare che ivi la produzione di dipinti destinati a edifici pubblici fosse prevalente. Il tondo Lathrop è infatti una delle poche opere note proveniente da Lucca di cui si possa affermare con certezza che non fu eseguito per una chiesa. Anche il tema centrale del dipinto ha un carattere peculiare. La Madonna che allatta il Bambino fu infatti uno dei soggetti ricorrenti nella pittura italiana del Trecento ma divenne, nel corso del Quattrocento, molto più raro in Toscana, dove alla rappresentazione naturalistica della madre che nutre il figlio sembra essere stata preferita quella, più emblematica, della Madonna che mostra il seno scoperto, simbolo della sua maternità. Di questa interpretazione quasi concettuale e sottilmente voyeuristica del tema sono noti, tra gli altri, gli esempi di Botticelli nella tavola dipinta nel 1484 per la cappella Bardi in Santo



Figure 8. Filippino Lippi, *Santi Benedetto e Apollonia, Paolo e Frediano*. Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation.

Spirito a Firenze, oggi allo Staatliche Museen di Berlino-Dahlem, di Cosimo Rosselli nella pala del 1492 oggi alla Galleria degli Uffizi, e di Biagio d'Antonio nel dipinto del Museo Poldi Pezzoli a Milano (cat. No 581). La rappresentazione della Madonna allattante conobbe invece, nel Quattrocento, un successo notevole in Fiandra. Sono attestate dai documenti quindici copie di un dipinto di tale genere importato dall'Italia, che Petrus Christus e Hayne de Bruxelles furono incaricati di eseguire a Cambrai nel 1454.²⁸ Si conoscono inoltre numerosi esemplari di Rogier Van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts e altri maestri fiamminghi che testimoniano della prodigiosa diffusione di questo tipo

25. Cf. G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1959, p. 14.

26. È questa l'interpretazione di M. Levi d'Ancona, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

27. Isolando con una circonferenza immaginaria la parte centrale della *Madonna col Bambino e i santi Sebastiano, Andrea, Bernardino, Paolo, Lorenzo e Agostino* di Zanobi Macchiavelli, oggi a Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, si ottiene una composizione molto simile a quella del tondo Lathrop. Questo bizzarro accostamento è suggerito dal fatto che nella tavola di Zanobi Macchiavelli, pittore di cui al Museo di Villa Guinigi a Lucca si conserva un dipinto (L. Bertolini Campetti, in *Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi*, Lucca, 1968, pp. 155-156), san Sebastiano è rappre-

sentato vestito, secondo un'iconografia ricorrente in Lucca, il che potrebbe far supporre una provenienza locale di quest'opera. Sul dipinto di Boston, databile intorno al 1465, cf. B. Berenson, *Quadri senza casa. Il Quattrocento fiorentino*, in: "Dedalo," 1932, p. 699, e più recentemente A. Matteoli, *Aggiunte a Zanobi Macchiavelli*, in: "Bollettino degli Eutlati," 42, 1972, pp. 142-143.

28. Il fatto, notissimo, è stato recentemente rimenzionato da C. Périer-d'Ieteren, *Rogier van der Weyden, sa personnalité artistique et son influence sur la peinture du XVe siècle*, in: *Rogier van der Weyden. Rogier de le Pasture. Peintre officiel de la Ville de Bruxelles. Portraitiste de la Cour de Bourgogne*, catalogo, Bruxelles, Musée Communal, 1979, p. 48.



Figure 9. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Santo vescovo*. Già Londra, Christie's.



Figure 10. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Lucca, Museo di Villa Guinigi. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.



Figure 11. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Madonna della Cintola*. Sarasota, Ringling Museum of Art.

di immagine. Esso conobbe un nuovo successo anche in Italia, proprio in quelle zone marginali o periferiche che per ragioni politiche, militari o economiche furono, poco prima della metà del Quattrocento, più aperte di altre alla penetrazione della cultura figurativa proveniente dai paesi del nord Europa.²⁹ Lo stesso Petrus Christus nel 1449 firmava e datava una *Madonna con il Bambino al seno*, oggi nella collezione Bentinck Thyssen a Parigi, la cui composizione ricorda da vicino, capovolta, quella del tondo Lathrop.³⁰

Il precoce interesse dei mercanti lucchesi per opere e temi provenienti da quelle zone in cui essi svolgevano una parte essenziale delle loro attività commerciali è comunque testimoniato dalla presenza in città, molto probabilmente già nel Quattrocento, di alcuni esemplari fiamminghi prestigiosi. La tavola dipinta da Jan Van Eyck verso il 1437 oggi presso lo Städelisches Kunstinstitut di Francoforte

rappresenta per l'appunto la *Madonna allattante*; essa fece parte della collezione di Carlo Luigi di Borbone-Parma e, prima di lui, di quella della famiglia Cittadella di Lucca.³¹ Un'altra *Madonna allattante*, quella tra i santi Pietro, Giovanni Battista, Cosimo e Damiano di Rogier Van der Weyden, oggi conservata nello stesso museo di Francoforte, proviene anch'essa da una regione limitrofa alla città, probabilmente da Pisa dove fu acquistata nel 1833.³² Può essere che altri esemplari fiamminghi dello stesso tema, di cui oggi non è accertabile la provenienza, si trovassero nel Quattrocento a Lucca e che a questi modelli sia da attribuire la diffusione di un tema iconografico altrove poco praticato.

La fortuna lucchese della *Madonna allattante* è infatti solidamente attestata. Probabilmente durante il nono decennio del secolo XV Matteo Civitali scolpiva in marmo per la chiesa lucchese della Santissima Trinità, dove

29. Un'indizio sicuro della precoce penetrazione di modelli fiamminghi in Liguria è costituito dalla piccola *Madonna allattante* del Museo Poldi Pezzoli a Milano (Cat. No. 654), già attribuita a V. Foppa e al Bergognone, ma brillantemente restituita a Donato de' Bardi da Federico Zeri (che qui si ringrazia per l'amichevole comunicazione). La tavola Poldi Pezzoli, databile tra il 1440 e il 1450 circa, riproduce un modello simile ad analoghe composizioni di Rogier Van der Weyden che avrà un successo enorme in Lombardia e Piemonte, dove sarà copiato fedelmente da Borgognone, Spanzotti e Defendente Ferrari. L'attribuzione di Zeri apre nuove possibilità d'indagine sui rapporti tra Fiandra e Italia settentrionale della prima metà del Quattrocento.

30. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1924-1937), I, New York-Washington, 1967, p. 83, ill. 76.

31. M. J. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61: databile intorno al 1437.

32. M. J. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, II, Leyden-Brussels, 1967, p. 64; M.

Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden*, London 1972, pp. 212-213. L'opera si trovava presso la collezione Rosini di Pisa.

33. Riprodotta in E. Lazzareschi, *Lucca*, Bergamo 1931, p. 106.

34. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, pp. 1053-1054. Nello stesso scritto, Ferretti riferisce ad un anonimo maestro due polittici (parrocchiali di Vallico di Sotto e Sant'Anastasio) (p. 1034, n. 2) di cui in un intervento successivo (*Di nuovo sul percorso lucchese*, in "Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia," serie III, VIII/3, 1978, pp. 1241-1244) propone la probabile identificazione con Bernardino del Castelletto, pittore menzionato a Massa dal 1481. A nostro avviso l'ipotesi è da sciogliere da ogni riserva. Allo stesso artista è ascrivito il polittico con la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Pietro, Paolo, Giovanni Battista e Liborio* della cattedrale di Massa (ill. 3) (proveniente dalla chiesa distrutta di San Pietro in Bagnara) cui lo stesso Ferretti (*ibidem*) ha riconosciuto l'*Angelo annunziante* della Walters Art Gallery di Baltimore (ill. 4), già ricondotto ad

oggi ancora si trova, la celebre immagine detta della *Madonna della Tosse*, che riproduce quel tema.³³ Ad una data prossima a quella del tondo Lathrop era inoltre eseguita per la chiesa parrocchiale di San Pietro a Vico (Lucca) una tavola con la *Madonna allattante tra i santi Pietro, santo vescovo, Nicola e Paolo* (ill. 2) che Massimo Ferretti ha giustamente attribuito al pittore d'origine lombarda, ma lucchese di professione, Bernardino del Castelletto di Massa.³⁴ Queste immagini mostrano una tale analogia di composizione (la Madonna di Bernardino del Castelletto sembra essere una copia, in controparte, di quella di Matteo Civitali) da far sorgere il sospetto che tutte derivino da un unico modello.³⁵

L'impatto reale della pittura fiamminga sulla cultura artistica lucchese della seconda metà del Quattrocento è oggi difficilmente valutabile, soprattutto a causa delle varie alienazioni ottocentesche di dipinti provenienti da collezioni private e edifici pubblici della città. Dai cataloghi delle vendite organizzate a Londra con cinismo napoleonico da Carlo Luigi di Borbone, duca di Lucca, nei momenti più rovinosi della sua carriera politica, è comunque possibili dedurre che la presenza di opere fiamminghe a Lucca fosse ben più consistente di quanto fino ad oggi è stato supposto. La porzione di collezione del Duca di Lucca offerta in vendita presso Christie & Manson il 25 luglio 1840 comprendeva un *San Gerolamo penitente* attribuito a Dürer proveniente dalla collezione del marchese Cittadella di Lucca,³⁶ un *Deposizione* attribuita a scuola tedesca, già a Lucca presso il marchese Boccella³⁷ e un trittico anche esso riferito a scuola tedesca rappresentante la *Salita al Calvario, la Crocefissione e la Deposizione*, già in una chiesa soppressa della città.³⁸ Quest'ultimo dipinto è stato identificato da E. K. Waterhouse con il trittico attribuito al Maestro della Virgo inter Virgines (1490 circa) oggi conservato al Bowes Museum di Barnard Castle (ill. 6).³⁹ La presenza in Lucca di queste opere, e di altre come una copia antica della *Madonna col Bambino e quattro angeli* di Dirck Bouts della Cappella Reale di Granada⁴⁰ o un trit-

tico attribuito da Gaetano Milanese a Hugo van der Goes (proveniente dalla collezione del marchese Cittadella di Lucca) venduto a Firenze nel 1893⁴¹ è un indizio molto importante per stimare correttamente la consistenza delle importazioni artistiche lucchesi dalla Fiandra in questo periodo. A tal punto consistenti, che i forestieri interessati che visitavano la città all'inizio del Settecento erano invitati ad apprezzare nelle chiese dello Stato non solo le "pitture di Tiziano, di Pietro Paulini, del nostro Brandimarte" ma anche quelle "di Alberto Duro, e di altri simili uomini assai famosi."⁴²

La restituzione del ruolo autonomo avuto da Lucca nel contesto della diffusione della cultura fiamminga in Toscana può aiutare a capire la capillarità della presenza di motivi e consonanze stilistiche nelle opere dei pittori lucchesi di cui il Maestro del tondo Lathrop fu certo uno dei maggiori esponenti. Everett Fahy⁴³ ha sottolineato a ragione come la concezione dello spazio e vari elementi compositivi dell' *Annunciazione* della chiesa parrocchiale di Santissima Annunziata presso Lucca (ill. 7), una delle sue opere più impegnative, siano inconcepibili senza presupporre l'esistenza di un prototipo fiammingo. Cadenze stilistiche fiamminghe sono riscontrabili anche nel tondo del Museo Getty dove le qualità ottiche con cui sono rese la collana di corallo e il gioiello posti al colmo del trono, o la scrittura penetrante, quasi miniaturistica delle lumeggiature a oro con cui sono definiti i falsi rilievi dello schienale si rivelano tributarie della percezione naturalistica dei pittori del nord. In altri maestri, come in quello di San Filippo che qui tenteremo di riesumare, le affinità con il mondo fiammingo sono a tal punto estese e continue da avvalorare l'ipotesi che si tratti di un pittore immigrato dal nord in Lucchesia; un caso analogo, cioè, a quello di un certo Giorgio di ser Giovanni di Bruxelles che nel 1490 chiedeva di poter venire a insegnare in città "artem faciendi arassi".⁴⁴

Altre componenti fiamminghe filtrarono a Lucca di riflesso, importate da Firenze soprattutto grazie alle opere

ambito lucchese da F. Zeri, *Catalogue of Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1976, I, p. 141. È probabile facesse parte in origine dello stesso complesso anche un frammento di predella rappresentante la *Dormitio Virginis* della Yale University Art Gallery di New Haven (ill. 5) che, oltre all'identità dei caratteri stilistici, mostra una decorazione architettonica simile a quella che compare nell' *Angelo* di Baltimore. Sul dipinto di New Haven cf. C. Seymour, *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery*, New Haven 1970, p. 135, No. 92 (come Imitatore di Andrea del Castagno).

35. La relazione iconografica tra il Tondo Lathrop e l'opera di Civitali è stata rilevata precedentemente da E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

36. Cf. *Catalogue of a Portion of the Gallery of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, London, 25 luglio 1840, lot 31.

37. *Ibidem*, lot 14.

38. *Ibidem*, lots 37-39.

39. E. K. Waterhouse, *Some Old Masters other than Spanish at the Bowes Museum*, in "The Burlington Magazine," XCV, 1952, p. 120.

40. M. J. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, III, 1968, p. 72, No. 91 a.

41. (G. Milanese), *Catalogue des tableaux, meubles et objets d'art formant la Galerie de Mr. le Chevalier Toscanelli*, Florence, J. Sambon, 1893, 9-23 aprile, lot 152. Il dipinto rappresentava la *Madonna con il Bambino, due angeli, san Domenico e un donatore, e san Gerolamo*. Questa e le precedenti informazioni sono tratte dalla collezione dei cataloghi di vendite d'asta del J. Paul Getty Museum.

42. V. Marchiò, *Il forestiere informato delle cose di Lucca*, Lucca, 1721, p. 297.

43. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

44. E. Lazzareschi-E. Pardi, *Lucca nella storia, nell'arte e nell'industria*,



Figure 12. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Madonna col Bambino, angeli e santi*. San Cassiano a Vico, Chiesa parrocchiale. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

di Filippino Lippi. Il ruolo fondamentale svolto dal pittore fiorentino nel processo di assestamento del linguaggio figurativo locale degli ultimi due decenni del Quattrocento è stato precisamente indicato da vari studiosi. Filippino eseguì per l'altare di Sant'Elena in San Michele, per il quale Francesco Magrini otteneva licenza di costruzione nel 1482, una tavola con i *Santi Rocco, Sebastiano, Gerolamo e Elena*⁴⁵ la cui composizione comporta la soppressione della tradizionale ripartizione della superficie e l'allineamento delle quattro figure su di un unico piano di profondità. In quest'opera, che segna l'inizio di una fase creativa svincolata dall'egemonia stilistica di Botticelli, Filippino realizza un equilibrio calcolato tra la posa delle figure, la cadenza sinuosa, articolata, molto caratteristica, con cui sono espressi i volti e i panneggi, e l'ambientazione dei santi in un paesaggio suggerito da qualche sperone roccioso, fronde di alberi e una porzione di prato in primo piano. Su questi inserti naturalistici, che conferiscono al dipinto

Lucca, 1941, pp. 118-119. Un altro indizio importante delle relazioni artistiche tra Lucca e la Finadra è costituito dalla provenienza lucchese della sorprendente *Santa Maria Maddalena* dei Musei statali di Berlino-Dahlem, a partire dalla quale M. J. Friedländer ha ricostruito la personalità di un anonimo pittore da lui chiamato Maestro della Maddalena Mansi (*op. cit.*, VII, 1971, pp. 45-47). La tavola di Berlino, datata a dopo il 1515 per la presenza di alcuni motivi decorativi tratti da Altdorfer, mostra inequivocabili analogie di stile con le opere del Maestro del tondo Lathrop senza che peraltro sia possibile, oggi, supporre un soggiorno lucchese del pittore fiammingo.

45. La bibliografia sul dipinto è riassunta da M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975,



Figure 13. Sebastiano Mainardi, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.

un carattere apparentemente "casual," si sovrappone una rigorosa ripartizione simmetrica delle due coppie di santi, disposti in due zone contrapposte, quasi perfettamente equivalenti. Questi fattori sono ancora più appariscenti nei due pannelli rappresentanti i *Santi Benedetto e Apollonia, Paolo e Frediano* (ill. 8) eseguiti da Filippino verso il 1483 per la chiesa lucchese di San Ponziano, ove erano destinati ad affiancare una nicchia con un'immagine scolpita di sant'Antonio.⁴⁶ La simmetria della composizione in questo caso è scandita, oltre che dalla contrapposizione delle coppie dei santi, anche dalle diagonali convergenti dei due pastorali che si impongono all'osservatore per la ricchezza della loro decorazione scolpita. Quest'opera preziosa, che sarà per i pittori lucchesi contemporanei fonte di ispirazione e di motivi, è anche quella in cui Filippino più aderisce al fascino del naturalismo fiammingo. Come ha notato Millard Meiss,⁴⁷ cui si deve l'esatta indicazione della collocazione originaria di queste due tavole, il pae-

p. 1038. San Sebastiano è qui rappresentato non seminudo, ma interamente vestito dall'abito che ricorda il suo passato di centurione in una legione romana. Questa consuetudine iconografica si diffuse nel secolo XV soprattutto nell'arco mediterraneo tra Spagna e Provenza e nei paesi del nord Europa. Lucca fu una delle rare città dell'Italia centrale ad avere adottato questa tradizione cui la produzione figurativa si attenne quasi senza eccezioni fino ai primi anni del Cinquecento. Ma è da notare che il *San Sebastiano* scolpito da Matteo Civitali nell'arcata esterna opposta all'ingresso del tempio del Volto Santo in San Martino a Lucca non aderisce a questa tradizione (cf. C. Baracchini-A. Caleca, *Il Duomo di Lucca*, Lucca 1973, pp. 140-141, n. 596).

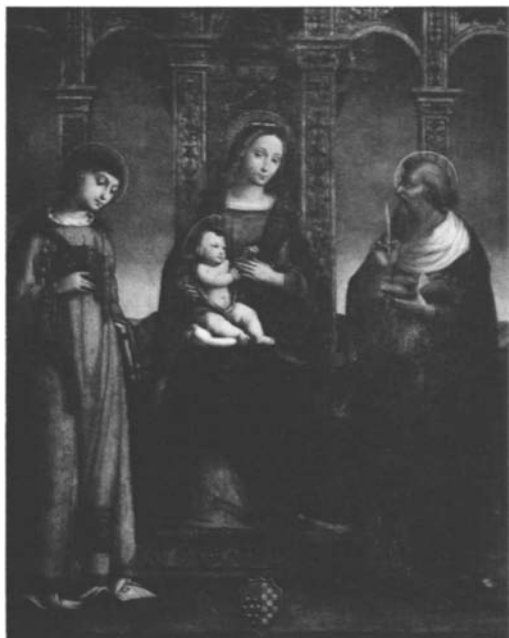


Figure 14. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Lucca, Museo di Villa Guinigi. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

saggio rustico che si scorge dietro la figura di san Frediano deriva quasi letteralmente da quello della *Madonna e angeli* di Hans Memling agli Uffizi. Il realismo epidermico dei volti, il profilo incisivo della testa di san Frediano, la resa brillante dei ricami e i valori plastici con cui sono resi i drappaggi rivelano invece il diretto ascendente del trittico Portinari di Hugo van der Goes, esposto a Firenze dal 28 maggio 1483.⁴⁸ Come ha pertinentemente rilevato Ferretti,⁴⁹ dalla pala di San Michele alle due tavole per San Ponziano, dipinte forse a distanza di poco più di un anno, la progressione di Filippino Lippi verso il naturalismo fiammingo è folgorante. Non è escluso che proprio le inclinazioni di gusto dei committenti di Lucca e i dipinti fiamminghi che vi erano probabilmente conservati agissero come deterrente finale in questo momento delicato della sua evoluzione.

L'impatto delle opere di Filippino Lippi sugli artisti lucchesi fu comunque notevole e di lunga durata. Il Maestro



Figure 15. Pietro Perugino e collaboratori, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Chantilly, Musée Condé. Photo: Giraudon.

del tondo Lathrop aderì ai suoi insegnamenti con un'intensità poco comune, come mostra, tra le altre, una tavola con un *Santo Vescovo* (ill. 9),⁵⁰ probabile frammento di una composizione più ampia eseguita forse intorno al 1490, in cui la resa anatomica delle mani, il contrappunto delle braccia, l'impostazione stessa della figura si ispirano chiaramente al san Benedetto di Filippino. L'eredità filippinesca rimarrà percettibile anche nelle opere più tarde dello stesso maestro, come nella *Madonna con il Bambino tra i santi Agostino, Monica, Antonio da Padova e Gerolamo* (ill. 10) dipinta verosimilmente negli ultimi anni del primo decennio del Cinquecento,⁵¹ dove accanto a citazioni cretiane e a spunti tratti da Amico Aspertini,⁵² la traccia di Filippino si riconosce, rinsecchita e metallizzata, nelle pieghe del manto di san Gerolamo, nella preziosa architettura del pastorale che sant'Agostino regge tra le mani e nel paesaggio che si scorge oltre il parapetto.

Malgrado una certa spiritata modernità in accordo con

46. M. Meiss, *A New Monumental Painting by Filippino Lippi*, in: "The Art Bulletin," LV, 1973, pp. 479-493; Id., *Once Again Filippino's Panels from San Ponziano, Lucca*, in: "The Art Bulletin," LVI, 1974, pp. 10-11.

47. *Ibidem*.

48. B. Hatfield Strens, *L'arrivo del trittico Portinari a Firenze*, in: "Commentari," XIX, 1968, 4, pp. 315-319.

49. *Op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1039.

50. L'ultima apparizione di questo dipinto fu in una vendita all'asta presso Christie's a Londra, il 18 aprile 1980, lot 76 (come Maestro del tondo Lathrop). Le vicende attributive fino al 1965 di quest'opera, che

R. Longhi riferì per primo al Maestro del tondo Lathrop, sono riassunte da E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 16-17. In seguito, M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1058; E. Fahy, *Some Followers of Domenico Ghirlandaio*, New York, 1976, p. 174.

51. Lucca, Museo di Valla Guinigi, Cat. No. 61; cf. L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, pp. 174-175. La relazione di questo dipinto con i modi di Amico Aspertini era già stata avvertita da C. L. Ragghianti, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 140.

52. Sull'attività lucchese del pittore emiliano, cf. P. Campetti, *Amico Aspertini a Lucca*, in: "Dedalo," XI, 1930-1931, pp. 5-24.



Figure 16. Maestro del Crocifisso dei Bianchi, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Rughi, Santa Maria. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.



Figure 17. Maestro del tondo Lathrop, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Lammari, San Cristoforo. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

la cultura anticlassica che Aspertini aveva importato in Lucca, alcuni elementi riconducono tuttavia ad un altro modello figurativo, databile anch'esso intorno al 1482. La struttura piramidale della composizione, la resa prospettica dei gradini che precedono il trono della Vergine e il motivo della tenda aperta sul fondo derivano infatti dalla tavola con la *Madonna e il Bambino tra i santi Pietro, Gregorio, Sebastiano* (vestito, secondo l'iconografia tipica a Lucca) e *Paolo* che Domenico Ghirlandaio aveva eseguito per la cattedrale di San Martino.⁵³ In questo dipinto, che segna l'inizio dello stile più tipico di Ghirlandaio, le fisionomie dei volti, l'effetto plastico del chiaroscuro e la stessa tecnica di esecuzione, con i toni chiari sovrapposti a quelli scuri a pennellate minute, anticipano, con una compostezza formale più accentuata, alcuni risultati del Maestro del tondo Lathrop. La diversa combinazione di elementi stilistici e tecnici derivati dai modelli di Ghirlandaio e di Filippino Lippi costituisce in effetti l'abecedario pittorico di questa fase della produzione artistica lucchese. È importante notare come l'attività lucchese dei due maestri fiorentini avvenga nello stesso periodo. Entrambi erano appena ritornati in Toscana da Roma, dove avevano partecipato alla decorazione affrescata della Cappella Sistina, e si trovavano in una fase intermedia della loro carriera; erano cioè pittori affermati ma non ancora all'apogeo della loro fama. Gli anni 1482-1483 segnano dunque l'inizio a Lucca di un'ortodossia stilistica fondata su parametri culturali altrove transitori ma che qui agiranno con continuità per circa trant'anni.

Su questa trama di motivi, altri fattori interverranno a definire l'evoluzione artistica del nostro pittore. La *Madonna della Cintola* del Maestro del tondo Lathrop conservata al Ringling Museum di Sarasota (ill. 11) è per molti aspetti un dipinto singolare.⁵⁴ Esso rappresenta la Vergine che, nel momento della sua assunzione al cielo, offre la cintola della propria veste a san Tommaso per vincere la sua incredulità; la scena si svolge al cospetto di una serie di profeti (tra cui David, identificabile grazie all'arpa che tiene tra le mani) e di angeli, disposti ai lati della Madonna. Questo soggetto non è raro in Toscana ed è in relazione con il culto della reliquia della Sacra Cintola conservata nella cattedrale di Prato, per la cui pubblica esposizione Donatello eseguì il pulpito esterno.⁵⁵ In questo caso tuttavia l'episodio comporta la presenza, piuttosto inconsueta,

53. Dopo aver fatto subire all'opera qualche oscillazione cronologica, gli studiosi si accordano oggi a datarla verso il 1482; cf. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, pp. 1037-1038. Una datazione leggermente anteriore propongono C. Baracchini-A. Caleca, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 147 n. 640.

54. Cat. No. 19; la questione bibliografica relativa a questo dipinto è esposta da P. Tomory, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings before 1800*, Sarasota, 1976, pp. 27-29.



Figure 18. Amico Aspertini, *Affreschi della cappella Cenami* (particolare). Lucca, San Frediano. Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici e storici.



Figure 19. Amico Aspertini, *Affreschi della cappella Cenami* (particolare). Lucca, San Frediano. Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici e storici.

dei profeti che sembrano arricchire l'iconografia della tavola di un significato secondo. I profeti associati alla Vergine in un'altra tavola quasi contemporanea a questa e conservata al Museo di Villa Guinigi a Lucca⁵⁶ prefigurano l'Immacolata Concezione e stabiliscono una correlazione dogmatica tra il Vecchio e il Nuovo Testamento. In quest'ultimo dipinto la Madonna, accolta in cielo come regina e come "Sponsa Dei," è infatti assimilata alla figura di Esther; come questa fu esonerata dal generale divieto di comparire al cospetto di Assuero senza la sua autorizzazione, così la Vergine fu esentata dal peccato originale.⁵⁷ Nel dipinto del museo lucchese, David e Salomone sorreggono cartigli che riproducono citazioni del Cantico dei Cantici, generalmente ritenute nel medioevo e nel rinascimento come una prefigurazione delle qualità di Maria.⁵⁸ Va aggiunto che il culto dell'Immacolata Concezione, il cui dogma fu approvato solo nel 1854, si manifesta a Lucca con una straordinaria precocità. S. Symeonides⁵⁹ informa che un altare consacrato nel 1333 nella chiesa di Santa Maria della Rosa fu riferito alla più antica confraternita nota di quel vocabolo. Il culto fu incrementato proprio negli ultimi tre decenni del Quattrocento, favorito

da Sisto IV (1471-1484) e diffuso soprattutto ad opera dei francescani. È probabile quindi che nel dipinto di Sarasota con i temi dell'Assunzione della Vergine e dell'Incredulità di san Tommaso si intrecci anche quello del dogma mariano.

Nel percorso del Maestro del tondo Lathrop, la tavola del Ringling Museum si situa in una fase che sembra precedere di poco l'*Annunciazione* di Santissima Annunziata (ill. 7) e la *Madonna col Bambino tra i santi Cassiano e Biagio* della chiesa parrocchiale di San Cassiano a Vico (Lucca) (ill. 12)⁶⁰ e può quindi essere datata agli anni tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Il consueto repertorio di motivi stilistici tratti da Ghirlandaio e da Filippino Lippi sembra tuttavia, in questo caso, interpretato con una cadenza frenata di cui gli angeli posti sulla sinistra danno l'esatta misura.

Potrebbe essere questa una traccia della presenza in Lucca della tavola con la *Madonna col Bambino e i santi Apollonia e Sebastiano* dipinta da Sebastiano Mainardi nell'ultimo decennio del Quattrocento (ill. 13). Questo dipinto, oggi conservato nella John G. Johnson Collection di Philadelphia,⁶¹ fu acquistato intorno all'inizio del secolo dalla collezione del marchese Giovanni Battista Mansi; la

55. Cf. L. Reay, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, Paris, 1959, pp. 1266-1272.

56. Cat. No. 56; cf. L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-166.

57. La lettura iconografica del dipinto del museo lucchese è dovuta a S. Symeonides, *An Alterpiece by "the Lucchese Master of the Immaculate Conception,"* in: "Marsyas," VIII, 1957-1959, pp. 55-66.

58. S. Symeonides, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

59. *Ibidem*, p. 56.

60. Cf. E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 19; *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 175.

61. John G. Johnson Collection. *Catalogue of Italian Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1966, p. 46 (con ampia rassegna bibliografica).



Figure 20. Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Lucca, San Martino. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

sua provenienza lucchese è inoltre confermata dal particolare abbigliamento di san Sebastiano, che qui indossa l'armatura. D'altra parte un motivo architettonico analogo a quello dipinto sul fondo compare nella tavola con la *Madonna con il Bambino tra i santi Lorenzo* (o Stefano?) e *Gerolamo*, già nella cappella Cattani di Sanpieriogoli e oggi al Museo di Villa Guinigi (ill. 14),⁶² anch'essa del Maestro del tondo Lathrop. Databile intorno al 1505, quest'ultima rappresenta il culmine di una fase composta, classicheggiante, del pittore che concluderà la propria carriera con modi molto più aspri, spezzati, anticlassici. È significativo che questa tavola sia stata riferita a lungo a Ludovico Brea,⁶³ cioè ad un pittore estraneo alla tradizione locale e noto per aver operato nell'arco ligure una propria "riforma" stilistica, equidistante tra i modi fiamminghi e il classicismo umbro-toscano. L'attribuzione di quest'opera de parte di C.L. Ragghianti⁶⁴ al gruppo delle pitture del Maestro del tondo Lathrop non è dubbia, ma va precisato che la sua particolare cadenza stilistica, quasi peruginesca, trova un supporto documentario nella restituzione al contesto lucchese di una pala eseguita proprio da Pietro Perugino.

62. Cat. No. 42; cf. L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164 per la bibliografia precedente il 1968; in seguito E. Fahy, *op. cit.* 1976, p. 175.

63. Cf. P. Campetti, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Comunale di Lucca*, Lucca, 1909, p. 37.

64. Secondo quanto riporta L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

65. *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Pictures, from the Distinguished Collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, London, Phillips, 1841, 5 giugno, lot 40.

66. V. Marchiò, *op. cit.*, p. 296, menziona in Sanpieriogoli "un quadro del coro . . . di Pietro Perugino."

Tra le opere della collezione del Duca di Lucca venduta da Phillips a Londra il 5 giugno 1841 figura una tavola rappresentante la *Nadonna con il Bambino e i santi Gerolamo e Pietro* che il catalogo dice provenire dalla chiesa di San Gerolamo in Lucca.⁶⁵ Il dipinto, già del principe Baciocchi, fu venduto da Phillips per 200 guinee, passò nella collezione del duca d'Aumale a Chantilly e oggi è conservato al Museo Condé (ill. 15). Le ricerche d'archivio dovrebbero confermare l'originaria collocazione di questo dipinto⁶⁶ che Perugino, forse con la parziale collaborazione della bottega,⁶⁷ eseguì probabilmente nei primi anni del Cinquecento, secondo quanto indica l'analogia di stile e di tecnica con la *Madonna col Bambino e san Giovannino* della National Gallery di Londra (Cat. No. 181), datata da Federico Zeri proprio a quegli anni.⁶⁸ È interessante notare come il Vannucci, in questa sua seconda apparizione lucchese (la prima, come è noto, risale al 1494 e si saldò in un nulla di fatto perché il pittore umbro, che avrebbe dovuto lavorare per la cattedrale, fu minacciato da un artista locale e preferì lasciare la città)⁶⁹ si adegui alle esigenze visive dei committenti impostando la sua composizione su di uno sfondo architettonico conforme alla tradizione lucchese.

La portata del quadro di Perugino in Lucca non fu enorme. Oltre che in alcune opere del Maestro del tondo Lathrop, un tenue riflesso si può scorgere nell'attività di un maestro ritardatario, scorretto ma ligio alla tradizione, denominato convenzionalmente Maestro del Crocifisso dei Bianchi. Tra i pochi dipinti noti di questa personalità, che M. Ferretti ha correttamente scorporato dal catalogo ben più sostenuto del Maestro del tondo Lathrop,⁷⁰ la *Madonna con il Bambino e due santi* della chiesa di Santa Maria a Rughi (Capannori) (ill. 16) rivela in effetti, in un'accezione paesana, un vago ricordo della nobile tavola di Perugino.

Con questo bagaglio di cultura e un'attività di notevole impegno alle spalle, il Maestro del tondo Lathrop giungeva dunque intorno al 1510 alla fine della sua carriera artistica. Rimangono di questo periodo alcune tavole che illustrano con chiarezza lo sbocco finale del suo percorso; tra esse, la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Giacomo e*

67. Propendono, tra gli altri, per un'estesa partecipazione degli aiuti W. Bombe, *Perugino*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1914, p. 254; e E. Camesasca, *L'opera completa del Perugino*, Milano 1969, p. 121 No. 237. In gran parte autografo è invece per U. Gnoli, *Pietro Perugino*, Spoleto 1923, p. 48 e per B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, London 1968, I, p. 326. È probabile che la collaborazione della bottega sia limitata all'esecuzione degli elementi architettonici del fondo.

68. Il *Maestro dell'Annunciazione Gardner*, in: "Bollettino d'Arte," XXXVIII, 1953, pp. 131-132. Sul dipinto londinese, cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Early Italian Schools*, London 1961, pp. 401-402.

Cristoforo nella chiesa di San Cristoforo a Lammari (ill. 17).⁷¹ La composizione, gli elementi architettonici, la presenza della tenda sopra il trono della Vergine sono ancora impostati sul modello canonico creato da Domenico Ghirlandaio circa trent'anni prima. I motivi a grottesche, la corrosione quasi caricaturale dei volti rivelano tuttavia la profonda impressione suscitata sul pittore dagli affreschi che Amico Aspertini, attivo a Lucca dal 1506, aveva eseguito per la cappella Cenami in San Frediano (ill. 18-19).⁷² E. Fhay⁷³ e M. Ferretti⁷⁴ hanno recentemente sottolineato l'importanza eccezionale che ebbe il soggiorno lucchese del pittore emiliano. Nel caso specifico del Maestro del tondo Lathrop, l'opera innovatrice di Aspertini agì probabilmente come un catalizzatore capace di mettere in luce, in questo periodo di crisi, l'impossibilità di conciliare i nuovi apporti con i dati formali attorno ai quali si era articolata per trent'anni l'arte di Lucca. Così, per esempio, nella tavola di Lammari le grottesche, che in Amico Aspertini traducevano una concezione polemica, eccentrica, anti-classica del mondo antico, saranno tradotte in una specie di isterismo grafico che tenta vanamente di spezzare lo schema rigido della composizione.

IL MAESTRO DELL'IMMACOLATA CONCEZIONE

In misura diversa, una parte della componenti culturali che abbiamo visto determinare lo stile del Maestro del tondo Lathrop intervengono a definire la personalità di un altro anonimo artista lucchese noto come Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione. Il pittore trae il suo nome fittizio da un dipinto rappresentante quel soggetto conservato al Museo di Villa Guinigi a Lucca,⁷⁵ proveniente dalla chiesa di San Francesco. Questa tavola ha ricevuto da parte degli studiosi datazioni diverse, senza che sia stata considerata con la necessaria attenzione una preziosa indicazione di S. Symeonides⁷⁶ la quale, analizzando il dipinto dal punto di vista iconografico in modo esemplare, rilevava come la presenza di sant'Anselmo coronato dall'aureola ne condizionasse la collocazione cronologica a una data posteriore a quella della sua canonizzazione, che fu nel 1494. Questo termine deve quindi essere considerato un punto fermo nella ricostruzione del percorso stilistico



Figure 21. Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, *Incoronazione della Vergine, angeli e santi*. Lucca, Museo di Villa Guinigi. Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici e storici.

di questo artista che mostra, durante tutto il corso della sua carriera, una sorprendente continuità. Un altro elemento cronologico utile è costituito da sette lunette su tavola rappresentanti *Profeti* conservate in locali adiacenti alla cattedrale e che ornavano il baldacchino del pulpito marmoreo addossato al quarto pilastro di destra della navata centrale.⁷⁷ Come hanno rilevato Clara Baracchini e Antonino Caleca, il pulpito fu scolpito da Matteo Civitali che ne ricevette la commissione nel 1494 e lo ultimò nel 1498. È chiaro quindi che le lunette, eseguite espressamente per essere inserite nella struttura architetto-

69. L'episodio è riportato da E. Ridolfi, *L'arte in Lucca studiata nella sua cattedrale*, Lucca 1882, pp. 183-184.

70. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, pp. 1059-1060.

71. L'attribuzione del dipinto al gruppo del tondo Lathrop spetta a C. L. Ragghianti, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 141-142, ed è ripresa da E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 16, e dalla letteratura posteriore.

72. Cf. P. Campetti, *op. cit.*, 1930-1931, pp. 5-24.

73. *Op. cit.*, 1965, p. 10.

74. *Op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1060.

75. Cat. No. 56. Cf. L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-166.

76. *Op. cit.*, p. 65. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1040 n. 11, sembra invece proporre per questo dipinto una data prossima al 1480.

77. Cf. C. Baracchini-A. Caleca, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51, 60 n. 55. Secondo gli autori il ripertimento di queste tavole e la loro attribuzione al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione avalla l'ipotesi che questi possa essere identificato in Michele Ciampanti. Matteo Civitali aveva incaricato il Ciampanti di eseguire nel 1485 la doratura dell'altare di San Regolo da lui scolpito, e l'affresatura della volta della cappella. Parrebbe quindi probabile che lo scultore ricorresse allo stesso artista una decina d'anni dopo.



Figure 22. Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum.



Figure 23. Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. San Michele di Moriano, Chiesa parrocchiale. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cor-topassi.

nica del monumento, devono essere considerate contemporanee o di poco posteriori al suo completamento.

E possibile articolare attorno a questi due termini una serie di opere che rivelano caratteri stilistici indiscutibilmente simili e che costituiscono quindi una trama sicura per ricomporre il catalogo del pittore. L'opera più antica di questa serie è la pala rappresentante la *Madonna in trono con il Bambino, due angeli e i santi Bartolomeo, Antonio abate, Francesco e Andrea* (ill. 20), attualmente conservata nella sacrestia di San Martino in Lucca ma di cui non è stata ancora accertata la collocazione originaria.⁷⁹ In questo dipinto il pittore mostra di combinare cadenze stilistiche derivate dalle opere lucchesi di Filippino Lippi con elementi tratti da Domenico Ghirlandaio secondo un registro tipologico piuttosto rude. Il Bambino che la Madonna tiene sulle ginocchia è una copia fedele di quello che compare nella pala con la *Madonna e i santi Giovanni Battista e Donato d'Arezzo* della cattedrale di Pistoia, allogata a Andrea del Verrocchio e completata da Lorenzo di Credi in-

torno al 1485.⁸⁰ È probabile che l'esecuzione dell'opera del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione risalgia agli anni intorno al 1490; in seguito la componente filippinesca apparirà in lui sensibilmente affievolita, mentre predomineranno riferimenti stilistici a Domenico Ghirlandaio. È il caso della tavola dell'Immacolata Concezione, databile per le ragioni sopra espresse al 1494 circa, e di una serie di opere che si scalano intorno a quegli anni, tra cui l'*Incoronazione della Vergine alla presenza dei santi Cosimo, Margherita, Luigi e Damiano* (ill. 21) proveniente dalla chiesa dei Servi, oggi anch'essa al Museo di Villa Guinigi.⁸¹ In quest'ultima, il gruppo di Cristo e della Madonna è certamente in relazione con l'*Incoronazione della Vergine* dipinta da Domenico Ghirlandaio nel 1486 per la chiesa degli Osservanti di San Gerolamo a Narni (oggi in Palazzo Comunale), il cui enorme successo è attestato da una serie di copie ben note che si estendono fino al secondo decennio del Cinquecento.⁸² Il pittore lucchese, nella linearità piuttosto greve del proprio linguaggio, innesta le citazioni

79. Il dipinto è stato per primo pubblicato con il nome del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione da M. Natale, *Maestri del Quattrocento lucchese*, in: "La Provincia di Lucca," 1971, 2, pp. 101-102. Ma vedi ora C. Baracchini-A. Caleca, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 148 n. 651 (datato intorno al 1490).

80. Cf. G. Dalli Regoli, *Lorenzo di Credi*, Milano, 1966, pp. 113-114.

81. Senza numero di catalogo. Cf. C. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, p. 166; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, p. 1042 n. 17; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178.

82. Cf. E. Castelnuovo-C. Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*, in: "Storia dell'arte italiana," I, Einaudi, Torino, 1979, p. 317.

83. Cf. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1978, pp. 1245-1246.

84. Cf. M. Natale, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-105; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.* 1975, p. 1041 n. 14; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 179.

85. E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 16; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1040 n. 11; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 177.

86. G. Ardinghi, *La pala d'altare di Santa Maria in Albiano*, in: "La



Figure 24. Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Tempagnano di Lunata, Sant'Andrea. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.

ghirlandaiesche in un contesto spaziale che sembra tener conto anche di alcuni esempi fiamminghi, come indica la morfologia del paesaggio e la sua ampiezza al centro della composizione.

Stilisticamente prossime a questa sua opera sono la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Eustachio, Giovanni Battista, Maria Maddalena e Vito*, inserita in un altare datato 1495 nella parrocchiale di Sant'Eustachio (Montignoso di Massa),⁸³ la deteriorata *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Ginese e Giacomo* in collezione privata a Ginevra,⁸⁴ e la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Sebastiano e Rocco* (ill. 22) del Fogg Art Museum a Cambridge (Mass., Cat. No. 1916.1)⁸⁵ in cui ancora compaiono citazioni della pala cretiana di Pistoia nella postura del Bambino e nella trabeazione architettonica che sorregge due vasi di fiori, ai lati del trono della Vergine. A questo punto dell'attività del Maestro si situano anche le già citate lunette per il pulpito della cattedrale di Lucca (1498 circa) e, in stretta connessione con esse, la tavola con la *Madonna e il Bambino tra i*

santi *Giovanni Battista, Pietro, Sebastiano e Andrea* della parrocchiale di Santa Maria in Albiano⁸⁶ e quella rappresentante la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Sebastiano, Barbara, Francesco e Rocco* (ill. 23) nella chiesa di San Michele di Moriano.⁸⁷ In esse il repertorio ghirlandaiesco è decisamente standardizzato in una parlata corsiva, quasi vernacolare, ma ligia al modello. Tra le opere che chiudono il percorso dell'anonimo maestro lucchese va infine menzionata la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Andrea e Pietro* (ill. 24) nella chiesa di Sant'Andrea a Tempagnano di Lunata,⁸⁸ che andrà datata al primo decennio del Cinquecento giacché la posa del Bambino benedicente sembra derivata da quella del dipinto di Perugino oggi al Museo Condé di Chantilly (ill. 15).

Ricomposta sulla traccia delle opere che abbiamo menzionato, l'attività del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione rivela una solida, quasi plumbea coerenza, eccezionale anche nel contesto esemplarmente omogeneo dell'arte lucchese di questo periodo. La visione prospettica, ottenuta nelle pale d'altare situando il punto di fuga sul volto della Madonna, la resa anatomica schematica, volumetrica degli arti, il repertorio degli elementi architettonici ricompaiono quasi senza eccezioni nei suoi dipinti. Anche dal punto di vista della committenza, che a tutt'oggi è difficile valutare per la mancanza di ricerche documentarie (ma M. Tazartes Nardini annuncia uno studio sul mecenatismo artistico in San Frediano), questo anonimo maestro sembra, tra gli artisti lucchesi, quello che con più continuità fu attivo per una clientela omogenea, costituita soprattutto dai francescani, da quelle categorie sociali, quali i tessitori, che gravitavano intorno al loro convento e dalle comunità contadine poste negli immediati dintorni della città.

IL PITTORE DI PAOLO BUONVISI

Il notevole trittico (oggi privo dell'intelaiatura architettonica) rappresentante la *Madonna con il Bambino tra i santi Giovanni Battista, Matteo, Frediano e Pellegrino* (ill. 25, 26, 27), datato 1487, nella pinacoteca di Villa Guinigi, già incluso fra le opere del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, è stato recentemente rivendicato ad un'anonima personalità lucchese, cui M. Ferretti⁸⁹ ha attribuito il nome convenzionale di Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi da quello del committente dell'opera che figura iscritto sul gradino

Provincia di Lucca," 1971, 4; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1041 n. 16.

87. G. Ardinghi, *Una tavola quattrocentesca a San Michele di Moriano*, in: "La Provincia di Lucca," 1965, 2, p. 68; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1041 n. 16; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178.

88. M. Natale, *op. cit.*, p. 105 n. 14; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1041 n. 14; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178.

89. Cat. No. 167. Il dipinto, precedentemente attribuito alla scuola di Filippino Lippi (cf. K. B. Neilson, *Filippino Lippi*, Cambridge, 1938, pp.

40-41, ill. 12), è stato rivendicato all'ambito lucchese da L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, p. 169; ha fatto in seguito oggetto di studio da parte dello scrivente (articolo citato) e di M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1044 che ne ha identificato la probabile provenienza da un ospedale di Lunata dedicato ai santi Pellegrino e Matteo, di cui Paolo Buonvisi era rettore nel 1487. Dissente dalla distinzione tra Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi e Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione E. Fahy (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178) che elenca le opere dei due maestri sotto un unico capitolo.

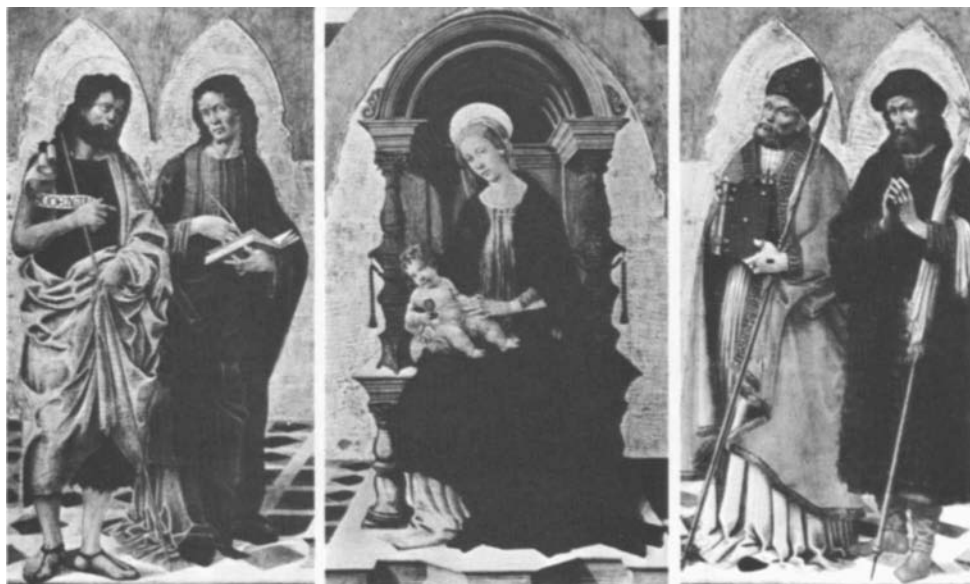


Figure 25. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Santi Giovanni Battista e Matteo* (particolare). Lucca, Museo di Villa Guinigi.

Figure 26. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Madonna col Bambino* (particolare). Lucca, Museo di Villa Guinigi.

Figure 27. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Santi Frediano e Pelleggrino* (particolare). Lucca, Museo di Villa Guinigi. Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici e storici.

dipinto alla base della tavola.⁹⁰ Questo pittore si discosta dal Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, con il quale presenta nondimeno forti analogie, per una cultura figurativa molto più articolata e per una più pronunciata attrazione verso le opere di Filippino Lippi. In questo caso, per esempio, la figura di san Frediano si ispira a quella del santo omonimo nella tavola di Filippino già in San Ponziano (ill. 8), di cui imita fedelmente il disegno delle mani e quello delle pieghe dell'abito che si affloscia a terra. Intervengono tuttavia altri fattori a determinare la particolare lucentezza cromatica e la collocazione perentorea, quasi scultorea, delle figure nello spazio. È probabile che questo sia un riflesso locale delle congiunture ferraresi-toscane e che, d'altra parte, il vigore da cesello con cui sono delimitati i volumi traduca la conoscenza di opere di artisti senesi, la cui attività è attestata dai documenti anche a Lucca.⁹¹ Ferretti ha giustamente attribuito allo stesso maestro i cartoni della vetrata absidiale di sinistra nella cattedrale di San Martino, riprodotte i *Santi Matteo e Marco*, per la stretta somiglianza nella resa dei panneggi e dei volumi di queste figure con quelle dei santi Giovanni Battista e Mat-

teo nella tavola datata 1487.⁹² È verosimile che questa, come la vetrata centrale che è datata e firmata dal maestro vetraio Pandolfo di Ugolino da Pisa,⁹³ risalga al 1485. Essa testimonia quindi di un'adesione precoce allo stile di Filippino Lippi (a Lucca nel 1482-1483 circa), confermata dall'attribuzione al Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi anche dell'affresco della controfacciata nella stessa cattedrale, già ascrivito a Cosimo Rosselli da Vasari e in seguito riferito a Filippino Lippi da C. L. Ragghianti⁹⁴ e da C. Baracchini-A. Caleca,⁹⁵ e al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione da Everett Fahy⁹⁶ e dallo scrivente.⁹⁷ Il dipinto rappresenta la *Deposizione di Cristo e vari momenti della leggenda di Nicodemo che scolpisce l'immagine del Volto Santo* (ill. 28) ed è stato eseguito verosimilmente in concomitanza con il rinnovamento della Cappella del Volto Santo, eretta da Matteo Civitali tra il 1482 e il 1484. Esso mostra, come la tavola del Museo di Villa Guinigi, una forte intonazione filippinesca piegata ad esigenze narrative poco comuni alla produzione artistica lucchese di questi anni. Il pittore svolge la scena su di un registro accorato e persuasivo che risulta estraneo alle opere del Maestro dell'Immacolata

90. Paolo Buonvisi fu, con Girolamo Guinigi, uno dei firmatari degli Statuti dell'Arte e Scuola dei Tessitori approvati nel 1482; cf. G. Tommasi, *op. cit.*, *Appendice*, p. 76.

91. La questione sul soggiorno lucchese di Neroccio di Bartolomeo Landi è riassunta da L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-160.

92. *Op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1044 n. 20. Per l'importanza dell'impresa, la realizzazione delle vetrate absidali di San Martino fu certamente uno degli avvenimenti maggiori a Lucca in questo ultimo quarto di secolo. Un giudizio definitivo sulla loro attribuzione si potrà dare soltanto quando sarà possibile studiare da vicino e con il sussidio di una estesa documentazione fotografica l'opera. C. L. Ragghianti (*op. cit.*, 1960, pp. 47-49) attribuiva il cartone della figura di san Matteo a Filippino Lippi e

quello di san Marco a Botticelli; tale opinione è condivisa da C. Baracchini-A. Caleca (*op. cit.*, pp. 51-52, 133 n. 517). Lo scrivente (*op. cit.*, p. 105 n. 14) e E. Fahy (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178) hanno invece riferito i cartoni al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione. La distinzione stilistica tra le varie vetrate proposta nel 1975 da Massimo Ferretti pare tuttavia la più convincente.

93. Cf. C. Baracchini-A. Caleca, *ibidem*.

94. *Op. cit.*, 1960, pp. 14-16.

95. *Op. cit.*, pp. 51, 129 n. 490-492; gli autori ricordano che la copertura della chiesa fu ultimata nel 1480 e mettono in relazione l'esecuzione dell'affresco con il rinnovamento del sacello del Volto Santo, commesso a Matteo Civitali nel 1482.



Figure 28. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Deposizione e storie del Volto Santo*. Lucca, San Martino. Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici e storici.



Figure 29. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Deposizione* (particolare). Lucca, San Martino. Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici et storici.

Concezione (ill. 29). Il Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi esordisce dunque con uno stile personale di notevole qualità. A questa sua fase deve ancora essere attribuito senza incertezze il sorprendente *Ritratto di musicista con viola da braccio* della Galleria Nazionale di Dublino (ill. 30), di cui E. Winternitz⁹⁸ ha sottolineato la rarità iconografica.

La stagione fortunata del nostro pittore avrà la durata di un decennio. In quest'arco di tempo egli si mostra capace di maturare esperienze diverse, come testimonia una tavola eseguita su disposizione testamentaria di Domenico del Voglia per la chiesa di San Romano in Lucca,⁹⁹ in seguito nelle collezioni berlinesi dove fu distrutta nel 1945 (e oggi nota da fotografia), il cui modello compositivo è la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Dionigi, Domenico, Clemente e Tommaso* di Domenico Ghirlandaio (Firenze, Uffizi), eseguita prima del 1490. A questa fase del Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi spetta ancora l'affresco con la *Trinità*, già sul primo altare destro in San Martino e oggi conservato, staccato, in sacrestia, anch'esso attribuito in passato a Filippino Lippi e al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione.¹⁰⁰

96. *An Altarpiece by Cosimo Rosselli*, in: "Quaderni di Emblema, 2," Bergamo 1973, pp. 53, 56; Id., *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178.

97. *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

98. Cat. No. 470. Attribuito da C. L. Ragghianti (*op. cit.*, 1960, p. 17) a Filippino Lippi, da E. Fahy (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 177) al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione e da M. Ferretti (*op. cit.*, 1978, p. 177) al Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi. E. Winternitz (*Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*, New York-London, 1979, p. 91, ill. 326) pubblica il dipinto come attribuito a Raffaellino del Garbo.

99. Cf. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, . 1044 n. 20 (Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, 1495 circa); E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 177 (Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione). Il dipinto, già Cat. No. 87, rappresentava la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Nicola, Domenico, Vincenzo, Pietro Martire*.

Nel 1491 la stretta osservanza filippinesca del Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi sembra entrare in una fase di lieve declino. Lo testimoniano due tavole datate, frammenti di un politico, conservate presso la chiesa parrocchiale di Montefegatesi, rappresentanti i *Santi Vito e Biagio* e la *Madonna con il Bambino* (ill. 31).¹⁰¹ Il tipo della Madonna non consente dubbi circa l'attribuzione del dipinto al pittore che eseguì la tavola del Museo di Villa Guinigi; la sua esecuzione pittorica, meno fantasiosa, sembra frenata dalla ricerca di una compostezza che sconfina con la stereotipo. È da rilevare inoltre che il pannello di sinistra ha dei caratteri stilistici lievemente diversi da questa e potrebbe far pensare, per la figura di san Vito, alla collaborazione di un altro artista, forse identificabile con il Maestro del tondo Lathro.¹⁰²

100. Come Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione fu pubblicato dallo scrivente (*op. cit.*, p. 105 n. 14) e da E. Fahy (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178); per C. L. Ragghianti (*op. cit.*, 9160, p. 14) e C. Baracchini-A. Caleca (*op. cit.*, pp. 51, 147 n. 649) è attribuibile a Filippino Lippi. La restituzione al Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi si deve a M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1044 n. 20.

101. Collegato con il trittico No. 167 del Museo di Villa Guinigi per la prima volta da L. Bertolini Campetti (*op. cit.*, p. 169) e in seguito da M. Natale (*op. cit.*, p. 102) e da M. Ferretti (*op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1044 n. 19).

102. E. Fahy (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 175) attribuisce entrambe le tavole al Maestro del tondo Lathrop. L'intervento simultaneo di più artisti in un'unica opera non sembra essere un fatto isolato a Lucca ed è forse da mettere in relazione con la particolare organizzazione del lavoro e delle botteghe. Un altro esempio di collaborazione sembra essere la tavola con



Figure 30. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Ritratto di musicista con viola da braccio*. Dublino, National Gallery of Ireland.

Anche il trittico con la *Madonna*, il *Bambino*, due *angeli* e i *santi Giovanni Evangelista*, *Giusto*, *Giuliano* e *Caterina* (ill. 32), già alla Alte Pinakothek di Monaco,¹⁰³ si discosta sensibilmente dai modelli filippineschi più ortodossi, interpretati qui tramite un diaframma che ricorda i modi di Cosimo Rosselli. Potrebbe essere questa una traccia dell'effettiva presenza in Lucca del pittore fiorentino, cui Vasari attribuisce in città varie opere che si sono avverate tutte di maestranze locali.¹⁰⁴ L'indizio di un'effettiva relazione di lavoro di Cosimo Rosselli con la comunità lucchese è fornito comunque da un dipinto che oggi si ritiene perduto, eseguito per la cappella dell'arte dei tessitori di seta in San Marco a Firenze, già nella collezione di Francis Howard a Londra¹⁰⁵ dove pervenne da un'asta Christie's del 1934¹⁰⁶. Esso rappresentava l'immagine miracolosa del *Volto Santo di Lucca* attorniato da una *mandorla d'angeli* e dai *santi Vincenzo Ferrer*, *Giovanni Battista*, *Marco* e *Antonino* (ill. 33) ed è probabile, come si può giudicare dalla riproduzione tratta dal catalogo di vendita, che la sua esecuzione risalga agli

anni centrali del decimo decennio del Quattrocento. Il tono discorsivo, rasserenato di Cosimo Rosselli si coglie soprattutto nella parte centrale del trittico lucchese già a Monaco, dove il volto della *Madonna* (ill. 34) rivela, su di un impianto compositivo ancora legato a Filippino Lippi, tratti e esecuzione pittorica tipici dei pittori fiorentini ghirlandaieschi alla fine del secolo. L'attribuzione di questo dipinto al Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, già formulata a più riprese, è convalidata dal rilievo prospettico con cui è reso il trono della *Madonna* e dalla presenza di elementi morfologici identici in questa e nella tavola di Villa Guinigi.

Se viene così a definire, per l'anonimo pittore, una traiettoria stilistica che, partendo da una fase di intensa adesione filippinesca, si arricchisce di motivi tratti da Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio e Cosimo Rosselli e volge infine verso un linguaggio figurativo di compromesso, lievemente standardizzato ma capace di fornire talvolta risultati di grande qualità. È il caso del *Ritratto di giovane uomo* (ill. 35), già dei principi Corsini a Firenze e poi presso Agnew a Londra, che per i numerosi riscontri formali con i brani più equilibrati della tavola che abbiamo appena illustrato (ill. 36) sembra lecito attribuire a questa fase del Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi.¹⁰⁷ L'impostazione del ritratto rivela un forte ascendente fiammingo che potrebbe derivare dalla conoscenza di un modello analogo a quello del *Ritratto virile* di Hans Memling agli Uffizi,¹⁰⁸ in cui il personaggio è colto in modo simile dietro un parapetto da cui emerge una mano simile vista di scorcio. Il recupero di questo dipinto e del *Ritratto di suonatore* della Galleria Nazionale di Dublino (ill. 30) apre uno spiraglio interessante sulla produzione artistica a Lucca di destinazione non esclusivamente chiesastica, la cui presenza, nel caso di una conferma documentaria, potrebbe modificare sensibilmente il quadro della pittura lucchese tra Quattro e Cinquecento.

Lo sviluppo ulteriore del pittore è di più difficile ricostruzione, perchè le opere che possono essere collegate per motivi di stile con le precedenti mostrano una sensibile flessione qualitativa, sorprendente in un artista di questa levatura. Non bisogna tuttavia dimenticare che anche per altre personalità, come il Maestro del tondo Lathrop o il Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, il volgere del secolo

la *Morte e Assunzione della Vergine* della chiesa parrocchiale di Santa Maria a Colle, abitualmente attribuita al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione (M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1041 n. 14; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178) ma in cui si è tentati di riconoscere nella figura di san Tamaso che raccoglie la cintola della Vergine e in quelle di alcuni apostoli disposti intorno al catafalco la mano del Maestro del tondo Lathrop.

103. M. Natale, *op. cit.*, p. 105 n. 6; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, pp. 1044-1045; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 178 (come Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione).

104. Citato da E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 53)

105. E. Fahy, *ibidem*.

106. Vendita L. Hirsch, 11 maggio, lot 132 (C. Rosselli).

107. Il dipinto, notissimo alla letteratura artistica, ha ricevuto svariate attribuzioni, tra cui quella a Piero del Pollaiuolo di R. Van Marle (*The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, XII, The Hague, 1931, pp. 180-190), quella a Botticelli di A. Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, VII, Milano, 1911, pp. 600-601) e di B. Berenson (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Florentine School*, London 1963, I, p. 35), quella a Francesco Botticini di E. Fahy (*Some Early Italian Pictures in the Gambier-Parry Collection*, in: "The Burlington Magazine," CIX, 1967, p. 137).



Figure 31. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Montefegatesi, Chiesa parrocchiale. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.



Figure 32. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Già Monaco, Alte Pinakothek. Foto: Milano, Foto Perotti.

corrisponde ad un soffocamento delle loro capacità inventive, e che in tutta la produzione artistica lucchese di questo periodo serpeggia la tendenza a riproporre con minime varianti motivi precedentemente affermati. L'interpretazione intimista, sottilmente didascalica dei modi di Filippino presente nella tavola già a Monaco compare in ogni caso in un'Adorazione del Bambino dell'Art Institute di Chicago (ill. 37) che saremmo tentati di riferire al nostro pittore piuttosto che al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione, cui è presentemente attribuita.¹⁰⁹ Il quadro rivela infatti un'articolazione delle figure nello spazio che non compare abitualmente nelle opere dell'altro maestro, cui sono estranei anche i ricordi di Cosimo Rosselli e forse di Francesco Botticini, percettibili nei due angeli in adorazione del Bambino. Anche l'altare di San Bartolomeo a Ruota, rappresentante la *Madonna col Bambino, due angeli e i santi Maria Maddalena, Bartolomeo, Giovanni Evangelista e Apollonia*, che porta una data frammentaria forse scioglibile in 1498,¹¹⁰ o la *Madonna col Bambino e i santi Nicola,*

Sebastiano, Rocco e Martino della Walker Art Gallery di Liverpool¹¹¹ rivelano una simile convergenza di componenti culturali. Ci troviamo in questi casi di fronte ad una fase omogenea, ampiamente standardizzata di un pittore ormai assuefatto ad una sintassi figurativa immutabile, in cui riemergono stilemi già ampiamente diffusi nel decennio precedente. Tuttavia anche in questi dipinti, ed in altri che ad essi sono leggermente posteriori quali la *Madonna con il Bambino e i santi Pietro o Paolo* del Museo di Arte Antica di Barcellona¹¹² o quella di analogo soggetto nella basilica di San Paolo fuori le Mura a Roma¹¹³ la perizia prospettica con cui sono realizzati i troni e le modulazioni lineari delle figure sembrano avvalorare il nome del Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi. Negli ultimi due dipinti citati, di cui va rilevata la scadente conservazione, il bambino è impostato su quello della tavola lucchese di Perugino e suggerisce una data intorno alla metà del primo decennio del Cinquecento.

108. Cf. M. J. Friedlander, *op. cit.*, VI/1, 1971, p. 56.

109. Cat. No. 54.289. Cf. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1041 n. 15; E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 177.

110. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1042 n. 17 (attribuito al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione).

111. Cat. No. 2780. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. *Foreign Catalogue*, Liverpool, 1977, pp. 111-112, No. 2780. Attribuito da M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, p. 1042, e da E. Fahy, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 177, al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione.

112. Già Lyon, collezione Aynard, poi Parigi, collezione Dollfus e collezione J. Dreyfus; venduto a Berlino il 31 maggio 1929, lot 30 (come Domenico Ghirlandaio). Attribuito a Benedetto Ghirlandaio da R. Van Marle (*op. cit.*, XIII, p. 130) e al Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione dallo scrivente (*op. cit.*, p. 105) e da E. Fahy (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 177). M. Ferretti (*op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1044 n. 20) esita invece tra il nome del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione e quello del Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi.

113. M. Ferretti, *ibidem*. Per E. Fahy del Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione (*op. cit.*, 1976, p. 179).



Figure 33. Cosimo Rosselli, *Volto Santo di Lucca e santi*.
Già Londra, Christie's.



Figure 34. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Madonna col Bambino e santi (particolare)*. Già Monaco, Alte Pinakothek. Foto: Milano, Foto Perotti.

IL MAESTRO DI STRATONICE E IL MAESTRO DI SAN FILIPPO

Nel 1966 in un articolo consacrato al Maestro di Stratonice, Everett Fahy¹¹⁴ pubblicava un dipinto rappresentante la *Madonna con il Bambino, due angeli e i santi Rocco e Sebastiano* già nella collezione Austen a Capel Manor in cui rilevava che il costume di san Sebastiano, qui interamente vestito, riconnetteva questa tavola con la particolare iconografia del santo adottata a Lucca. La pertinenza lucchese di una fase d'attività del Maestro di Stratonice fu in seguito confermata dal ritrovamento di due suoi importanti dipinti in chiese del territorio dell'antica diocesi di Lucca.¹¹⁵ Questo gruppo di opere, tra cui quella che si riproduce da una fotografia eseguita prima del recente restauro (ill. 38), spetta alla fase estrema del pittore, databile all'ultimo decennio de Quattrocento e mostra, come ha ben rilevato Ferretti,¹¹⁶ quanto il suo tentativo di conciliazione corsiva tra lo stile di Botticelli e quello di Filippino Lippi avesse potuto incidere sulla fisionomia di pittori locali quali il Maestro dell'Immacolata Concezione e, in modo particolare, il Pittore di Polo Buonvisi.

114. *Some Notes on the Stratonice Master*, in: "Paragone," 1966, 197, pp. 25-26.

115. Montignoso, chiesa parrocchiale, *Madonna col Bambino e santi* (cf. S. Meloni Trkulja, in: "Bollettino d'Arte," 40; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1048); il dipinto che qui si riproduce è quello conservato nella chiesa

Everett Fahy nello scritto già menzionato riproduceva inoltre con il nome del Maestro di Stratonice un curioso dipinto rappresentante la *Madonna del Soccorso*, già presso la collezione Foulc a Parigi.¹¹⁷ Come presupponeva lo studioso americano, che notava che un'immagine identica a quella rappresentata sulla tavola appariva su di un affresco deteriorato nella cappella di Santa Maria del Soccorso in San Frediano, anche questo tema è di attinenza lucchese. Secondo quanto riporta il *Diario Sacro delle chiese di Lucca* di Giovanni Domenico Mansi, questo culto ebbe origine da un miracolo avvenuto nel 1480. "Un contadino di S. Casciano a Vico (Lucca), dato per colera un figlio al demonio, questi subito comparve per portarselo. Ma invocata dalla Madre la SS. Vergine, questa se li fe davanti, ed alzando il braccio scacciò il Demonio e liberò il fanciullo."¹¹⁸ Un'ulteriore conferma della vitalità di questa devozione in Lucca si ha nel fatto che le monache gesuate, già alloggiate in un piccolo monastero presso San Frediano, si trasferirono nel 1517 in San Giovanni in Capo di Borgo, sotto il titolo appunto di Santa Maria del Soccorso.¹¹⁹ Da un punto di vista stilistico, il riferimento del qua-

parrocchiale di Arsina; cf. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1047.

116. *Ibidem*.

117. *Op. cit.*, p. 138. Mansi riferisce che l'affresco in San Frediano fu fatto eseguire da una "Gentildonna di casa Compagni" subito dopo l'evento miracoloso.



Figure 35. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Ritratto di giovane uomo*. Già Londra, Agnew's.



Figure 36. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi, *Madonna col Bambino e santi* (particolare). Già Monaco, Alte Pinakothek.

dro già nella collezione Foulc al Maestro di Stratonice non appare tuttavia pienamente convincente. La sua esecuzione rivela infatti un'incisività lineare abitualmente estranea al fare del pittore e mostra inoltre una curiosa eccentricità, eclettica come quella del Maestro ma impostata su altre componenti. Il volto ovale della Vergine e la sua resa volumetrica, le ombre che definiscono i modellati tradiscono infatti l'influsso non solo di Filippino Lippi e di Botticelli, ma anche di Bartolomeo di Giovanni, di Piero di Cosimo e forse del primo Granacci. È da notare inoltre che il paesaggio, scandito da alberi e cespugli eseguiti con una cura sorprendente, richiama decisamente il naturalismo dei pittori fiamminghi.

È comunque fuor di dubbio che la tavola già Foulc sia strettamente connessa, per ragioni di stile, con almeno altre quattro opere anch'esse attribuite da alcuni studiosi al Maestro di Stratonice. Delle due che si trovano al Museo del Petit Palais a Avignone, la più antica è certamente la *Madonna col Bambino, due angeli e i santi Giovanni Evangelista e Brigitta di Svezia*,¹²⁰ impostata su di un fondo architettonico di tipica ascendenza lucchese. L'altro dipinto



Figure 37. Pittore di Paolo Buonvisi?, *Adorazione del Bambino*. Chicago, Art Institute.

119. G. D. Mansi, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

120. Cat. No. 166. Cf. M. Laclotte-E. Mognetti, *Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, Peintures italiennes*, Paris 1976, No. 166; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, P. 1049 121) Cat. No. 167. Cf. M. Laclotte-E. Mognetti, *op. cit.*, No. 167; M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 1049.



Figure 38 Maestro di Stratonice, *Madonna col Bambino, angeli e santi*. Arsina, Chiesa parrocchiale. Foto: Lucca, Foto Cortopassi.



Figure 39. Maestro di San Filippo, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Avignone, Musée du Petit Palais.

rappresenta la *Madonna con il Bambino tra i santi Luigi, Francesco, Antonio da Padova, Agostino, Barbara, Elisabetta d'Ungheria, Brigitta di Svezia e Caterina d'Alessandria* (ill. 39).¹²¹ Tra essi, Francesco tiene in una mano una croce metallica che ha fatto dubitare della coretta identificazione del santo perchè essa non figura tra i suoi attributi consueti. Essa costituisce tuttavia un elemento prezioso per chiarire la pertinenza lucchese della tavola. L'oggetto riproduce infatti la cosiddetta "croce di san Francesco," una reliquia ritrovata in Assisi nel 1448 in occasione della solenne esumazione della salma, affidata da Nicolò V al proprio segretario Pietro Noceto da Lucca e da questi tramandata alla sua famiglia.¹²² Eseguito per Lucca, forse per la chiesa di San Francesco, il dipinto databile intorno al 1500 mostra ancora più chiaramente del precedente componenti stilistiche prossime a Piero di Cosimo, svolte con una linearità estrosa, ripetuta, quasi ossessiva. Lo squarcio di paesaggio che si intravede nel fondo, tra il profilo di sant'Agostino e il trono, ha una morfologia identica a quello della *Madonna del Soccorso*. L'alta qualità delle variazioni cromatiche con cui sono eseguite le fronde degli alberi, che nella loro naturalezza sembrano anticipare i dipinti su rame di Elsheimer, indica un rapporto molto

stretto del pittore con il mondo fiammingo.

M. Ferretti ha infine riconosciuto questa stessa scrittura in due frammenti di predella con *Storie di santa Caterina, san Giuliano, san Giusto e un altro santo* in collezione privata¹²³ e in una tavola rappresentante la *Madonna col Bambino tra i santi Giovanni Battista e Maddalena* (ill. 40) presso François Heim a Parigi.¹²⁴ L'esecuzione del paesaggio in primo piano e sullo sfondo è qui ancora più virtuosa, esibita, e la sua ampiezza introduce una nota inconsueta nel repertorio dei motivi ricorrenti nei dipinti lucchesi di questo periodo (ill. 41). Commentando questo dipinto, Ferretti giustamente notava come la forte influenza di Piero di Cosimo, avvertibile soprattutto nei volti, sia tradotta secondo un'accezione lucchese, confermata dall'identità formale (non di stile) del busto di Maria Maddalena con quello di Santa Lucia nel trittico No. 138 del Museo di Villa Guinigi, attribuito al Maestro del tondo Lathrop.¹²⁵

Questo gruppo di opere, così coerente per stile e tipi, può essere ora integrato con altri dipinti. Non è dubbio che il tondo rappresentante la *Madonna con il Bambino, san Giovannino e due angeli* (ill. 42) della collezione della Bob Jones University a Greenville appartenga alla stessa mano

122. Cf. G. D. Mansi, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-277.

123. Già Milano, vendita Finarte, 15-16 maggio 1962, lot 13 (bottega di Filippino Lippi; cf. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, p. 1051).

124. M. Ferretti, *op. cit.*, 1978, pp. 1247-1248.

125. Cf. L. Bertolini Campetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163. L'attribuzione di quest'opera e di un certo numero di altri dipinti (tra cui la *Visitazione* affrescata in San Frediano) al Maestro del tondo Lathrop merita ulteriori verifiche.



Figure 40. Maestro di San Filippo, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. Parigi, François Heim.



Figure 41. Maestro di San Filippo, *Madonna col Bambino e santi* (Particolare). Parigi, François Heim.



Figure 42. Pittore di San Filippo, *Madonna col Bambino, san Giovannino e angeli*. Greenville (South Carolina), Bob Jones University Collection.

che ha eseguito la tavola presso François Heim.¹²⁶ Identiche le modulazioni lineari con cui sono definiti i volti e i corpi, identici il tipo e la morfologia del paesaggio, condotto con un'analogia minuzia distribuendo secondo un ritmo regolare, da seminatore, alberi e cespugli lungo i dorsi delle colline. Anche in questo caso il riferimento immediato è Filippino Lippi, di cui il pittore copia testualmente il Bambino, le mani della Madonna e il piccolo san Giovanni della pala in Santo Spirito a Firenze; ma si tratta di un modello filippinesco visto con gli occhi di un pittore attivo una quindicina d'anni dopo, interpretato secondo cadenze analoghe a quelle che Raffaellino del Garbo proponeva nella grande pala con l'*Incoronazione della Vergine e quattro santi vallombrosiani*, oggi al Museo del Petit Palais a Avignone, secondo i documenti terminata per la chiesa fiorentina di San Salvi nel 1511.¹²⁷

La stessa provincialità scontrosa, anticonformista, del tondo di Greenville caratterizza una targa processionale che rappresenta il *Cristo crocefisso adorato da due penitenti bianchi* (ill. 43), già sul mercato antiquario in Italia.¹²⁸ Il soggetto di questo dipinto si riferisce al culto della Confraternita dei Penitenti Bianchi, un'organizzazione peniten-



Figure 43. Pittore di San Filippo, *Cristo crocefisso adorato da due penitenti bianchi*. Ubicazione sconosciuta.

ziale che tramite l'adorazione del Crocefisso e vari esercizi di mortificazione implorava la fine del flagello della peste. Dalla fine del Trecento¹²⁹, essa ebbe un ruolo molto importante in Lucca, dove costruì una chiesa detta per l'appunto dei Penitenti Bianchi e dove i confratelli esercitavano un'attività assistenziale e ospedaliera molto estesa. Quest'opera è un documento singolare per illustrare la storia di questo movimento a carattere popolare e talora eversivo, di cui è possibile facesse parte anche il pittore. Identica alla tavola di Avignone (ill. 39) e al tondo di Green-

126. Cf. *The Bob Jones University Collection of Religious Paintings*, Greenville, 1962, p. 57.

127. Cf. M. G. Carpaneto, *Raffaellino del Garbo*, II, in: "Antichità Viva," X, 1, 1971, p. 14; M. Laclotte-E. Mognetti, *op. cit.*, No. 209.

128. Tavola, 73 x 38 cm.

129. Sulla straordinaria diffusione del movimento penitenziale in Lucca, cf. G. Arrighi, *Origine e sviluppo del movimento del SS. Crocifisso de' Bianchi*, secondo un codice del '400, in "La Provincia di Lucca," 1966, 1, pp. 45-52; S. Andreucci, *Momenti e aspetti del moto penitenziale dei disciplinati nella città di Lucca*, in: "Actum Luce," II, 1, 1973, pp. 53-80.



Figure 44. Pittore di San Filippo, *Madonna col Bambino e santi*. San Filippo (Lucca), Chiesa parrocchiale.
Foto: Pisa, Soprintendenza ai Beni artistici e storici.

ville (ill. 42) è qui l'interpretazione tetra ed espressiva dei modi di Filippino e di Piero di Cosimo e l'esecuzione del paesaggio sul fondo. Ma il Crocefisso è posto al centro di una vallata racchiusa tra due montagne la cui schematicità ha un carattere molto più arcaico. È probabile che l'artista abbia ripreso questo elemento da una composizione più antica, già venerata dai confratelli e a cui gli stessi volevano rimarnere fedeli.

La poetica del grottesco che caratterizza quest'opera raggiunge il culmine nella pala con la *Madonna, il Bambino e i santi Filippo e Giacomo* della chiesa di San Filippo presso Lucca (ill. 43). In questo caso, in cui le figure campeggiano stranamente su di un fondo neutro, i ricordi di Bartolomeo di Giovanni e di Piero di Cosimo sono alterati da un'espressività forzata, che evoca addirittura il nome di Cola dell'Amatrice. Saranno infatti dipinti come questo a costituire il presupposto figurativo dell'attività dei pittori

lucchesi della generazione successiva, Agostino Marti e soprattutto Zacchia il Vecchio. È chiaro tuttavia che le opere del gruppo che abbiamo definito, la cui omogeneità stilistica pare difficilmente contestabile, spettano ad una personalità ben distinta da quella del Maestro di Stratonice. Come quest'ultimo, il maestro che proporrei temporaneamente di battezzare "di San Filippo" (dal nome dell'ubicazione della sua unica opera ancora conservata in territorio lucchese) si appropria di modelli culturali svariati con una riconfrotante disinvoltura. Il suo linguaggio ha tuttavia un carattere eccessivo, parossistico; il suo mestiere nel riprodurre la natura è virtuoso. Potrebbero essere questi i segni di una formazione avvenuta fuori del territorio lucchese, su di un suolo straniero. Non è escluso che le ricerche d'archivio ci restituiscano un giorno il nome di un pittore proveniente dall'Europa del nord e attivo a Lucca durante i due decenni a cavallo del secolo.

Mauro Natale
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Additions to the Oeuvre of Michael Sweerts

Michael Sweerts is intriguing both as a not inconsiderable artist and as a figure always on the move. Born in Brussels in 1618 (not six years later as is still often thought),¹ he died in 1664 on the west coast of India at Goa where the Portuguese Jesuits had their headquarters. Enigmas persist about his life, but each newly discovered painting helps to cast fresh light on his complex personality. For this reason it is well worth presenting several unpublished works from different phases of his career—frustrating though it is that none fills the apparent pictorial vacuum of his time in Syria and in India, even though the sources claim that he did paint in Aleppo.

Perhaps the earliest of these pictures, and one which I promised to publish in another article on Sweerts,² shows *A Seated Young Man* from a private collection in the Channel Islands (Fig. 1). Leaning across the arm of his chair to catch the spectator with a penetrating gaze, this figure must have been executed during the artist's stay in Rome from 1646 to soon after 1652/54. The young man is loosely clad in a greyish tunic. Unfortunately the relation of his body to the chair back has been distorted by the reduction to an octagonal shape of this originally rectangular canvas. This may have been carried out by some capricious collector, proud of knowledge that Sweerts had been impressed by Pieter van Laer's *Self-Portrait* in the Galleria Pallavicini, Rome, and foolish enough to try to emulate its octagonal shape.³ The paradox is that Van Laer's portrait was itself later squared up into a vertical form, a change probably made to keep a frame-maker happy.

One of the many perplexities in the life of this linen merchant's son is that nothing is known of his artistic beginnings in Flanders. Rome is where he emerges from ob-

scurity as a painter. In this city, as the *Seated Young Man* confirms, the Caravaggism of Van Laer—who carried it out on a much smaller scale—helped Sweerts to find his way among the various trends of the time.⁴ The naturalism of *il Bamboccio*, the nickname given by Italians to the Haarlem artist, because of his deformed back, was robust and sharp: it often caught the boisterous energy and humour of peasant life. Sweerts can, however, never be described as aggressive in his interpretations; quite the contrary. His characters have a stillness and a melancholy strain which the contemplative youth betrays. Caught during a moment of reflection, a delicate thread of water lining his lower eyelids, the sitter looks out but thinks in. His relaxed fingers draw the eye to the broad whiteness of the cuff, while the soft cravat gently links the stronger ivory tones of hand and forehead. Everything is subordinate to the intimate, almost effeminate expression of the pink-cheeked young man.

If this youth looks out on the world with sensitivity, the subject of a painting that has recently come to light turns his back on it. *The Nude Man Reclining on a Rock* (Fig. 2), from a private collection in England, was long wrongly ascribed to the eighteenth-century Venetian Domenico Magiotto. The opening period of an artist's career often foreshadows his subsequent development and in some cases the raw creative impulse lends a sharp vitality that is hard to recapture later. This nude reclining on a rock, his right hand resting on his head of thick curly hair, underlines that point. Naked bodies are rare in Sweerts's oeuvre, but the Strasbourg Museum's later *Men Bathing* includes the muscular torso of the bather standing in the river that shares something with our reclining man.⁵ In the shadowed areas, the rust-brown skin has the transpar-

1. This archival discovery was made and published with other details of Sweerts's life and art by D. Bodart, *Les Peintres des Pays-Bas Méridionaux et de la Principauté de Liège à Rome au XVII^e Siècle*, Brussels/Rome, 1970, vol. I, pp. 419–31. For a summary of his life in English and a discussion of a late work, see M. R. Waddingham, "Michael Sweerts, 'Boy Copying the Head of a Roman Emperor,'" *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin*, vol. LXIII, 1976–1977, pp. 57–65.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 65, note 15.

3. F. Zeri, *La Galleria Pallavicini in Roma*, Florence, 1959, pp. 150–1, cat. no. 258 and Fig. 258. This panel was also exhibited in *Michael*

Sweerts e i Bamboccianti, Rome, 1958, no. 78, Fig. 63. All catalogue entries and illustrations of works included in the Sweerts exhibitions in Rotterdam and Rome refer in these notes to the Italian catalogue.

4. Van Laer arrived in Rome ca. 1625 and left in 1638.

5. Exhibition catalogue no. 35 and Fig. 35. Were this reclining nude actually standing and observed from the front, he might of course resemble the partially naked man with both hands pressing his head in anguish in *The Pest of Athens* (Cook Coll. Richmond): see exhibition catalogue no. 34 and Fig. 34. Though less obviously, he nonetheless resembles the three athletes in the later *Wrestlers* in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karls-



Figure 1. Michael Sweerts, *A Seated Young Man*. Private collection. Channel Islands. Oil on canvas (octagonal), 16¼ x 13."



Figure 2. Michael Sweerts, *Nude Man Reclining on a Rock*. Private Collection, England. Oil on canvas, 17 x 13⅝."

ent vibrant warmth of the South, suggesting an Italian model. The pose and treatment are not untouched by classical values, and it is well to remember that in 1646, not long before, Poussin had completed his *Sacrament of Baptism*, now in the Edinburgh National Gallery, which is as much a hymn of praise to the human physique in all its beauty and attitudes as to the spirit.

Where Poussin preferred to show, even in his most intricate compositions, as much as possible of the limbs of his figures, Sweerts in the *Nude Man* allows part of an arm and a whole leg to be lost by dramatic foreshortening. His aim differs from Poussin's: despite his powerful back, the nude is not conspicuously heroic. With face hidden, his identity is diminished. More than a feeling of detachment and loneliness is intended here. The apparent anonymity may well be the subtle way Sweerts posed a question and solved it. The quiver of arrows may be an oblique allusion to St. Sebastian. If this is not the explanation, nonetheless this nude attracts us today by its touch of romanticism.

In spirit as remote as the *Nude Man*, but clearly as pas-

sionate in religious devotion as Sweerts himself, is the *Penitent Reading in a Room* (Fig. 3), from the New York collection of Marco Grassi. Absorbed in a sacred book and seated amid symbols of mortality, the reader is unobtrusively elegant: those more prosperous than mendicants may also suffer from brevity of life. The message that faith can reach us all is well conveyed pictorially, for the scene is not in a monastic cell but the corner of a dark room which opens onto a second one with a table and a picture on the wall. On the crumpled sheet of white paper at the foot of the stool, Sweerts has left his monogram, close in calligraphic form to that in the Louvre *Soldiers Playing Dice*.⁶ Like this latter work, the quiet devotee was painted in Rome towards the middle of the century and is—an important point to bear in mind—a variant of the beautiful unsigned *Repentant* now in the Roberto Longhi Collection, Florence.⁷ This gives no glimpse of the room behind and depicts the ascetic in a costume of a different colour and a looser cap, with the skull not on the floor but on top of an identical stool. There are other differences which

ruhe which was published by V. Bloch in his monograph, *Michael Sweerts*, The Hague, 1968, pp. 21–2, Plate 14.

6. Exhibition catalogue, no. 22, Fig. 21.

7. See M. R. Waddingham, "The Sweerts Exhibition in Rotterdam,"

Paragone 107 (November 1958), pp. 69–70, Fig. 23 when it was first brought to light; and A. Boschetto, *La Collezione Roberto Longhi*, Florence, 1971, no. 97 and Plate 97.

8. *A Soldiers Resting in the Grounds of a Ruin* (23 in. by 33 in.), sold in Sotheby's on 23 February, 1938, lot 137, with a certificate from Dr. A.



Figure 3. Michael Sweerts, *A Penitent Reading in a Room*. Collection of Marco Grassi, New York. Oil on canvas, 16 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{5}{16}$."

make it difficult to determine which of the two works is earlier.

In addition to being a delicate exercise in the play of hues of grey—above all in the costume, from tight cap to smooth stockings—and a clever combination of symbols of passing time, *The Penitent* expresses very intensely Sweerts's fanatical absorption in his faith. Reading the painting in this light, it is easier to understand his decision just over a decade later to join the bishop of Heliopolis, Francis Pallu, on one of his missionary enterprises as a lay brother to Siam.

Sweerts was far from forever dwelling on penitents. As a northerner he showed interest in the more mundane aspects of daily life and no one responded to them more originally than Van Laer. Remembering that this Dutchman was the first to reduce Caravaggism to the scale of cabinet pictures in his depiction of peddlers and peasants, it is not surprising that many *bamboccianti* scenes by artists such as Cerquozzi, Miel, and Andries have mistakenly borne his name. *A Cavalry Officer Watching Soldiers at Cards* (Fig. 4)

Bredius as by Sweerts, is revealing in this context. With no less than twelve figures in the painting, the centre of the composition is occupied by the main group of four men: two playing cards while one sits watching (hand on chin like the cavalry officer in the work illustrated above) and the fourth figure faces the spectator with pipe in hand. No less significant

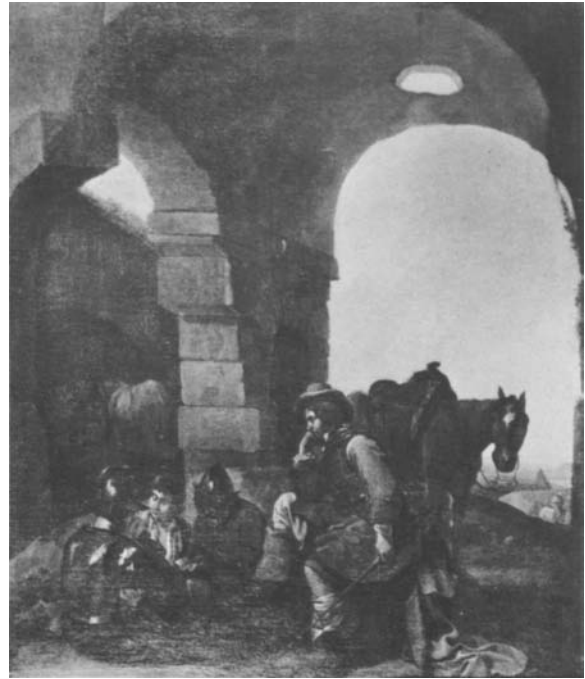


Figure 4. Michael Sweerts, *A Cavalry Officer Watching Soldiers at Cards*. Private collection, England. Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14." Photo: published with the courteous permission of the Courtauld Institute of Art.

in an English private collection is attributed to him too, but the cavalier watching his men play is caught as much in a dream as by the game. The bold projection of the horse's head against the sky, the manner in which it looks toward its owner, and the way in which the second horse, head in manger, merges into the shadow of an arch on the left—all this descriptive poetry is not Van Laer's but Sweerts's.⁸ It has been agreed that horses are seldom seen in Sweerts's art, and it may well have been its presence in this scene that suggested Van Laer's name. Nonetheless, despite the surface dirt—which is responsible for the poor quality of this illustration—it certainly warrants, in my view, an attribution to Sweerts.

Before leaving Sweerts in Rome, the question of how much he employed assistants in his studio should be examined. The existence of exact replicas of works like the *Capitoline Seated Peasant* and its pendant *A Woman Spinning* may indicate either studio help or later copyists, and the precise date of such reproductions is sometimes hazardous to prove.⁹ Even so, one picture, *Three Boys in a*

is that behind them on the right two saddled horses stand in the shadow, one looking out of the picture in much the same manner as the animal illustrated here.

9. Exhibition catalogue nos. 7 and 6, and Figs. 6 and 7.

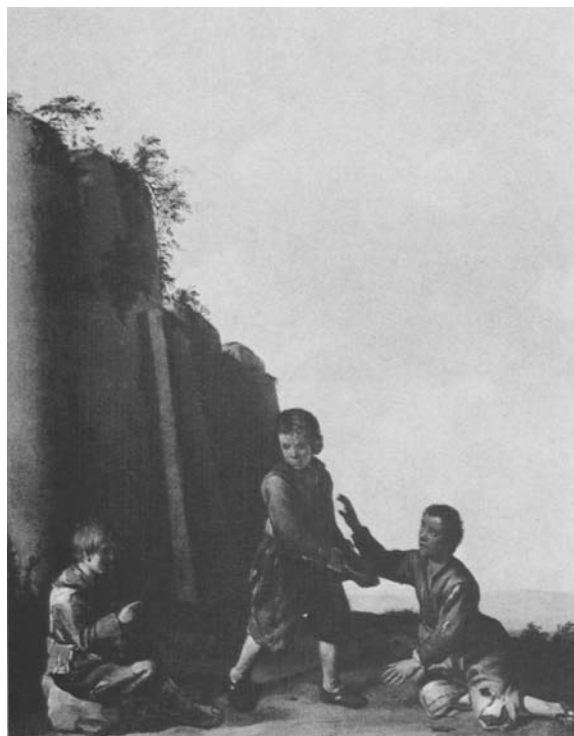


Figure 5. Circle of Michael Sweerts, *Three Boys in a Squabble*. Formerly in the possession of C. Sestieri, Rome. Oil on canvas, 19¾ x 15¾."

Squabble (Fig. 5), examined by me in 1972 in the gallery of the Sestieri brothers in Rome, tantalizes by its closeness to Sweerts's vocabulary.¹⁰ The boy in the center who teasingly filches a hat from his companion and the boy seated on the ground to the right remind one by their striking outline against the horizon of the last man to mount the slope from his ship in the Louvre *Disembarkation*.¹¹ The language is too finely attuned to that of Sweerts not to suggest that at least one pupil or assistant well acquainted with his method is at work.¹²

The distance covered by Sweerts from *A Seated Young Man* (Fig. 1) to the way he worked some fifteen years later is exemplified by the remarkable *Smiling Head of an Old Woman* (Fig. 6) in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. I first saw it six years ago in a London gallery where it was without a name, though the dealer thought it could be eighteenth-century French. Physiognomically, it quickly brought to mind the features and brilliant character penetration of a much less virtuous head: the profile of the

woman in the double portrait *A Gallant and Procuress* now in the Louvre.¹³ So I suggested the name of *Sweets*.¹⁴

For all portrait painters repetition of mood and expression is a constant temptation. The fleeting lyricism of hypersensitive youth, so exquisitely caught in the Wadsworth Atheneum *Bust of a Boy*, or the crestfallen look of a child, like that of a girl representing *The Sense of Touch* in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, can come perilously close to "type-casting" if repeated too frequently.¹⁵ In the head of an old woman now at Malibu, Sweerts breaks away from narrow patterns. Age is sensitively conveyed by a careless strand of tired hair and the crease of her mouth. The dark background brings her countenance into forceful clarity, and this persuades the eye to note the wart below her right cheek. Exceptional too is the way the rippling collar piquantly relieves not only the smooth tightness of the kerchief round her head but also contrasts with her inner calm. As for date, the panel must fit like the Louvre *Gallant and Procuress* into the period of Sweerts's short stay in Holland before he left for the Far East—some time, that is before December 1771.

It cannot be denied that such an acute analysis of happy longevity expands our appreciation of his ability, and demonstrates that Sweerts's choice of subjects for portraiture was more catholic than is usually thought. Just how quickly Sweerts could switch from one kind of facial expression to another is shown by the *Head of a Young Girl* (Fig. 7), now in a European private collection.¹⁶ As in the Malibu portrait, no attempt is made to fill in the background. This was one of Sweerts's distinctive virtues; he usually kept the background unadorned and let the face tell the story. The girl's head has a discreetly proud turn to show the pearl in her ear and the hair clasp above it. The fleck of light in her eyes accents their largeness and beauty. In his description of the two women, the artist also wants us to note, for instance, the stitches in the right shoulder of the Malibu woman's dress and the four pins stuck into the younger woman's bodice. Perhaps this girl was a seamstress rather than a young mother caught in domestic chores, but what Sweerts chose to emphasize was her shy apprehension of life, so he gave her mouth a nervous twist and her whole face a faint touch of sadness. This stands in marked contrast to the tranquil maturity of the Getty portrait. This is portraiture that succeeds not only by its deceptive simplicity and candour but also by its

10. Oil on canvas, 19¾ in. by 16½ in.

11. Exhibition catalogue no. 19, Fig. 17.

12. An oil painting on canvas, *A Woman in a Room Feeding a Baby* (18 in. by 13¾ in.), attributed to Sweerts and sold in Christie's on 15 December, 1978, lot 13, just misses being by the master. A mother seated on the left and facing to the right feeds her infant, while a kneeling woman in

the centre, plate in hand, coaxes it to eat. In the right foreground a Cerquozian seated girl washes a narrow kitchen board trapped between her legs. Clearly this is a studio production.

13. Exhibition catalogue no. 47, Fig. 45 when it belonged to L. Salavin.

14. A year later it was illustrated as an advertisement and with the



Figure 6. Michael Sweerts, *Smiling Head of an Old Woman*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. Oil on panel, $19\frac{3}{8} \times 15\frac{1}{16}$ in."



Figure 7. Michael Sweerts, *Head of a Young Girl*. Private collection, Europe. Oil on canvas, $22\frac{1}{2} \times 20$ in."

objectivity. Sweerts has kept his distance from his models, even in his genre pieces, and respected their individuality: some are genial, more are proud, and many are lost in thought.

Permission given by the Brussels magistrature in 1656 for Sweerts to open a Drawing Academy is evidence enough that he was held in high regard on his return home. His years in Rome probably inspired esteem and attracted students to his atelier. These circumstances invariably give rise to collaboration between master and studio assistant. The theme of the Five Senses, one that Sweerts found sympathetic, illustrates our problems today coping with the distinctions between autograph works and doubtful ones. For instance, despite some deficiencies such as its cramped space, I have always considered the *Sense of Smell* at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna (Fig. 8)—a half length portrait of a man holding a charcoal burner in one hand and a warm cinder in the other—as having more of Sweerts in it than of his stu-

dio.¹⁷ Even if the careless treatment of parts of the sophisticated costume and the awkward hands betray some workshop aid, the master was surely responsible for the self-conscious look on the face, the sumptuous fur hat with feathers, and the elegant silver container. Much the same may be said of two other pictures of nearly identical size: *Sight*, with a man in a richly brocaded costume putting spectacles over the eyes of an owl;¹⁸ and *Taste* showing someone teasing a monkey on his shoulder with a nut. Once part of the Demidoff collection and sold in Berlin on 10 November 1911 as by Rombouts and Fyt, this pair, a trifle stronger in quality than the Vienna *Sense of Smell*, poses the same challenging problem of collaboration.

What then should be thought of a canvas of similar dimensions which was brought to my notice in Paris several years ago: a *Young Woman Begging* (Fig. 9),¹⁹ in a voluminous cloak and pale green head-scarf, her hand held out for the drop of a coin? Is she just an attractive pauper or could she be a witty illustration of the *Sense of Touch*? And

correct attribution in *The Burlington Magazine*, July 1975 as the property of Richard L. Feigen & Co. New York.

15. Exhibition catalogue nos. 49 and 54, Figs. 48 and 53.

16. Oil on canvas ($22\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 20 in.). I examined this when it was sold in Christie's on 10 April 1970, lot 29 and bought by David Carritt Ltd. It was first published by V. Bloch, "Postskriptum zu Sweerts," *Album Ami-*

corum J. G. Van Gelder, The Hague, 1973, pp. 40–41, Fig. 2.

17. Inv. no. A 16. Oil on canvas, $31\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $24\frac{1}{4}$ in.

18. Gerhardt Sale, Lepke. Both oil paintings on canvas measure $29\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $22\frac{7}{8}$ in.

19. Oil on canvas, $29\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $22\frac{7}{8}$ in.



Figure 8. Michael Sweerts and a studio assistant, *Sense of Smell*. Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna. Oil on canvas, 31¼ x 24¼."



Figure 9. Michael Sweerts and a studio assistant, *A Woman Begging*. Private collection, France. Oil on canvas, 28 x 22½."

may the painting be ascribed to Sweerts? To be sure, the head is better rendered than the cloak. The background is kept plain to focus attention on her face, and she needs no more ornament than the delicate gold earring. Her eyes are lustrous, and a slight glimpse of her tongue and teeth is vouchsafed.²⁰ The message is clear: Sweerts, now so busy with teaching and spending much time in spiritual exercises, finished her head. The hand and costume were left to a subordinate, one who may have been conversant with his engravings: one sheet, a signed *Portrait of a Man* with a similar multiplicity of folds, indicates that the assistant may have taken this part of the print to heart too pedantically.²¹

This series of *The Five Senses* tells us more, above all when considered alongside paintings obviously emanating from Sweerts's workshop, like Glasgow University's *A Stu-*

dio with Two Sculptors;²² and this is that he stayed longer in Brussels than some historians allow, intent as they are on explaining the Dutch character of only a few of his later works.²³ Documentary evidence supports a longer stay in Flanders, so it seems that Sweerts spent relatively little time in Amsterdam (no more than eighteen months from 1660 to the end of 1661) before leaving the Low Countries for Paris and Marseilles, his port of embarkation on 2 January 1662 for the Orient.²⁴

It is hoped that the sharper perception new paintings actually stimulate will encourage further discovery. The new insights these paintings afford of the range of Sweerts's ability, stretching from the poetic detachment of the nude man on the rock to the profound serenity of the toothless woman, lead to a finer awareness of the depth and breadth of Sweerts's very special vision.

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20. It is significant that a thin line of teeth can be seen in the mouth of the Demidoff man representing *The Sense of Taste*.

21. Bartsch, IV, p. 417, no. 6.

22. Oil on canvas, 197/8 in. by 17¼ in. This was formerly in the Smillie Collection. Probably from the same hand is an *Artist in his Studio*, 19½ in. by 16½ in. which was sold in Christie's on 1 May 1959, lot 147.

23. This argument was first cleverly formulated by Wolfgang Stechow,

"Some Portraits by Michael Sweerts," *The Art Quarterly*, XIV, 1951, pp. 206–215.

24. Sweerts was after all accepted into the Brussels Guild in 1659, and also documented there in 1660 when he gave a self-portrait to this organization. These facts are properly stressed in a review of the Sweerts exhibition in Rome by Eckhard Schaar, *Kunstchronik*, February 1959, Heft 2, pp. 41–4.

Text, Narrative and Tradition: Scenes from *Esther* by Aert de Gelder

The Getty Museum has recently purchased a painting by Aert de Gelder believed to depict *The Feast of Belshazzar*.¹ However, this identification presents considerable difficulty when viewed in light of the iconographic tradition established for that biblical story during the seventeenth century. It may therefore be significant that the picture in Malibu is stylistically consonant with several scenes from the *Book of Esther* painted by de Gelder during the 1680's.² Indeed, there is literary and iconographic evidence to support the hypothesis that this work actually represents another scene from *Esther*, not *Belshazzar's Feast*.³ As such, it offers insight into de Gelder's working procedure as an illustrator of the Bible, suggesting that during the eighties he had in mind a unified programmatic scheme for this painting and the stylistically related works. In addition, the programmatic nature of these paintings—as well as the choice of certain scenes—indicates that de Gelder was familiar with contemporary Judaic manuscript illumination, an avenue of research which until now has been neglected in the study of seventeenth century Dutch painting.⁴

The painting in Malibu (Fig. 1) shows seven figures against a dark neutral background. A large seated figure wearing a turban and ermine cape occupies the lower left.

He leans heavily with his left forearm on the edge of a table and spills wine from the goblet he holds; his glazed expression, sunken posture, and carelessness attest to his inebriated state. In front of the table at the right is another seated figure; he also holds a goblet in one hand and gestures slightly with the other as he looks at the drunkard. Behind, three other figures appear: one drinks from his cup, while the heads of the others are visible only in part. At the left, behind the drunkard's chair, two men are visible from the waist up. Standing together in the shadows, removed from the main action, they regard the figures around the table. The oriental costume, theme of drunkenness, and similarities with a painting by Rembrandt in London⁵ have encouraged the identification of the subject as *Belshazzar's Feast* (*Daniel V*).

The *Book of Daniel* describes the progress of the prophet of the same name during the Babylonian captivity of the Jews. As in the stories of Joseph in Egypt and Esther, the Jewish leader asserts his moral and spiritual superiority over the pagan empire and ascends to princely status.⁶ In Chapter V we meet Belshazzar, grandson of Nebuchadnezzar and King of Babylon, who blasphemes against the God of Israel and is consequently destroyed. In verses 1–2 we read:⁷

*The research for this study began in a graduate seminar at Yale University, spring 1980, under the direction of Albert Blankert.

1. Oil on canvas, 115 x 142 cm., signed at the upper right, A. de Gelder f. See D. van Fossen, *Aert de Gelder*, Diss., Harvard, 1969, v. I, 104–06 and cat. no. 36, *Feast of Belshazzar*; W. R. Valentiner, *Rembrandt and His Pupils. A Loan Exhibition*, Raleigh, N. C., 1956, no. 44, *Belshazzar Upsetting the Vessels in the Temple*; Mus. Boymans-van Beuningen, *Meesterwerken uit vier Eeuwen, 1400–1800. Tentoonstelling*, Rotterdam, 1938, No. 73, *Konig Belsazar, de tempelvaten profaneerend*. On de Gelder in general, one of Rembrandt's finest students, see also K. Lilienfeld (who did not know this painting), *Arent de Gelder. Sein Leben und seine Kunst*, The Hague, 1914.

2. On the paintings of *Esther* see van Fossen, 62, 133 ff. and the catalogue there, *passim*; Lilienfeld, cat. nos. 30–40; A. Bader, *The Bible Through Dutch Eyes* (exhib.), Milwaukee, 1976, nos. 60–61; and M. Kahr, *The Book of Esther in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting*, Diss., N. Y. U., 1966, 73 ff. and 144 ff.

3. Only J. Goudstikker (*Catalogue des Nouvelles Acquisitions de la Collection Goudstikker*, Amsterdam, 1930, No. 17, "Arent de

Gelder—Scene Biblique") suggested that the painting now in Malibu represents "peut-etre Assuerus et Esther."

4. Kahr (139–41) has mentioned *Scrolls of Esther* (*Megilloth*) in relation to W. de Poorter, Lastman, van Heemskerck and de Gelder, but for reasons unclear to me (36 n. 3) has denied a demonstrable connection between monumental painting and illuminated *Megilloth*. H. van de Waal ("Rembrandt and the Feast of Purim," *Oud Holland*, v. 84 (1969), 220 and fig. 13) has cited *Esther-Scrolls*, but only as they reflect contemporary Purim Plays.

5. See van Fossen, 104–05.

6. The similarities of plot, leitmotif and specific events in the *Books of Esther* and *Daniel* are striking and may help to explain de Gelder's reliance upon Rembrandt's "Feast of Belshazzar" for certain motifs and aspects of composition. See W. L. Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora: a Study in the tales of Esther and Daniel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, v. 92 (1973), esp. 216–17 cf. notes 10a, 18, and 23 below.

7. All biblical quotes are taken from the Dutch States-General version, *Biblia. Dat is: De Gantsche H. Schrifture*, Leyden, 1637, the standard



Figure 1. *Biblical Scene*. Aert de Gelder. Malibu, Getty Museum.

De coninck Belsazar maeckte een groote maeltijt sijnen duysent Geweldigen (D* allen den Vorsten, Princen, Grooten, Treffelicken ende voornemsten Heeren . . . sijnes Rijks . . .)

Als Belsazar den wijn geproeft hadde (D* doe hy vrolick geworden was van den wijn . . .) seyde hy datmen de gouden ende silveren vaten voortbrengen woude, die syn vader Nebucadnezar uyt den Tempel die te Jerusalem geweest was, wech gevoert hadde: op dat de coninck ende sijne geweldige, sijne wijven ende sijne by-wijven uyt de selve droncken.

King Belshazzar made a great feast to his thousand Potentates (That is, to all the Princes, Nobles, Great Ones, Honourable persons, and chiefest Lords and Officers of his Kingdom . . .)

When Belshazzar had tasted the wine (That is, when he was grown intoxicate . . .) he said that they should bring forth the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezer had carried out of the temple at Jerusalem: that the King and his mighty ones, his wives . . . and his concubines might drink out of them.

text in de Gelder's day. It includes abundant commentary which appear here in brackets. The English trs. is from *The Dutch Annotations upon the Whole Bible*, London (trs. T. Haak), 1657.

8. Oil on panel, 150 x 220 cm., dated 1625. On de Grebber and this

painting see *Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (exhib. cat., A. Blankert et al.), Washington, Detroit, and Amsterdam, 1980–81 (forthcoming).

9. Cf. van Fossen, 104.



Figure 2. *Feast of Belshazzar*. Pieter de Grebber. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.



Figure 3. *Feast of Belshazzar*. Rembrandt. London, National Gallery.

Once the vessels were brought, Belshazzar and his guests drank to their idol gods. Then the hand of the Lord appeared and wrote a message upon the wall. When the King saw this (v. 6):

Doe veranderde sich de glans des conincks, ende
sijne gedachten verschricken hem: ende de banden
sijner lendenen wierden los, ende sijne knyen stieten
tegen malcanderen.

Then the King's brightness was changed and his
thoughts frightened him and the bands of his loins
grew loose and his knees smote against another.

Belshazzar then called upon his astrologers to decipher the message. When they failed, Daniel was summoned. He explained that the Lord of Israel had weighed the empire in the balance, that He found it wanting, and so decided to give it to the King's enemies. That night the attacking armies of Media and Persia slew Belshazzar and gained his throne.

One of the finest portrayals of this story from the Low-Countries is the painting by Pieter de Grebber (Kassel; Fig. 2).⁸ The King and his concubines appear recoiling in fear (cf. "... ende sijne knyen stieten tegen malcanderen.") beneath a baldachin at the left. On the right the princes and servants look with expressions of astonishment at the hand appearing above. A servant, second from the left, holds one of the holy vessels, the seated prince in the foreground holds another, and a kneeling

servant at the lower left presents a third to the frightened King. Rembrandt's youthful masterpiece in London (Fig. 3) would seem to derive much of its expressive force from de Grebber's work, particularly in the dramatic effects produced by gesture and facial expression. Also, the sacred vessels are similarly integrated into the scene, appearing on the table and in the hands of the guests, and Belshazzar is again surrounded by lavishly attired, buxom concubines. Yet Rembrandt has sharpened the dramatic focus by using half-length figures neatly arranged around a table placed parallel to the picture plane and by showing the King in the center of the composition, in direct confrontation with the hand and blaze of miraculous light.⁹

It is with works such as these that the painting in Malibu must be reconciled if we are to accept it as *Belshazzar's Feast*.¹⁰ And indeed, certain similarities with Rembrandt's picture are apparent: de Gelder has also shown large half-length figures around a table placed parallel to the picture plane; Rembrandt's figures in the left background who look on correspond to the two standing figures in the painting in the Getty Museum; the gesture of the concubine who recoils at the lower right recalls the figure in the right foreground of de Gelder's work; on the table in both pictures the King's goblet has fallen, and on both we see a plate of fruit, a paten next to it, and a knife projecting over the table's edge. It is therefore possible that Rembrandt's painting played a role in the evolution of de Gelder's formal conception, but this fact alone does

10. The pictures by de Grebber and Rembrandt are exemplary of an iconographic scheme formulated in Italy and popularized in the North by J. Muller, F. Francken *et al.* However, the blending of the vessels into the scene (in earlier works they appear isolated to one side), the large-scale figures, and emphasis upon the private reactions of each figure we

owe to de Grebber and Rembrandt. Cf. G. Wentzel in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, II (1947), cols. 225–9; A. Czobor, "Remarques sur une composition de Jan Müller," *Bull. du Mus. Hongrois des B.-A.*, No. 6 (1955), 34–9.

not allow us to identify the subject as the *Feast of Belshazzar*. The transmission of certain motifs and principles of design does not necessitate the transmission of meaning in all its detail. It is just as likely that de Gelder would have had his master's work in mind when depicting any oriental banquet, not only *Belshazzar's Feast*. Such borrowing would represent an iconographic cross-current between thematically related, but not identical, subjects: an interchange of visual ideas within the larger category of oriental banquets, but between the portrayals of two entirely different stories.^{10a}

If we call the painting in the Getty Museum a representation of the events as told in *Daniel V*, then we are compelled to qualify our identification in one of two ways: either the picture shows *Belshazzar's Feast* before the sacred vessels have been brought in, or, accepting the vessels shown as those from the Temple, we are witnessing the actual desecration, but before the intervention of the hand of God. In either case, de Gelder's interpretation of the story would constitute an unprecedented iconographic interpolation in which he has suppressed details essential to the biblical verse and to the paintings by de Grebber, Rembrandt and others. Even if these departures were simply a matter of de Gelder's own invention, we would still have to explain other details which are entirely inconsistent with the text. Who, for example, are the two gentlemen in the background who look on soberly, if not derisively, from the shadows? The passage in *Daniel* stresses the general revelry of all the participants ("de coninck . . . sijne geweldige . . . sijne wijven . . . sijne by-wijven"); no such dichotomy is indicated. Furthermore, how do we account for the rather manly bearing and appearance of the figures sitting opposite the supposed Belshazzar? The text makes clear that the King is accompanied by his wives and concubines—a detail which de Grebber and Rembrandt emphasize by including sumptuously dressed, bejeweled figures who flank the King and are unmistakably female. De Gelder's figures, if they are really women, are striking for their masculinity and shabby dress and as such would represent the ugliest, most ill-dressed, most ludicrous lot in the history of the theme.¹¹ If they are not women, then

de Gelder has depicted an all-male feast, which the *Feast of Belshazzar* is not.

In view of these deviations from both pictorial tradition and the text, the current identification of de Gelder's painting as *Belshazzar's Feast* is questionable. Such a rendition of the passage from *Daniel* would have been highly unusual in terms of the iconographic precedents familiar to the artist and impractical in terms of what the viewer in the seventeenth century, familiar with both the biblical text and the usual pictorial interpretations thereof, had come to expect.

It is well known that during the seventeenth century the citizens of the United Netherlands identified with the Jews of the Old Testament. The Dutch considered their own struggle against the Spanish Crown as analogous to the struggle of Israel against its biblical enemies.¹² This attitude accounts for the popularity of many Old Testament themes in literature and the visual arts, including the story of Esther which recounts the triumph of the Jewish Nation while subjects of the Persian King, Ahasverus. After rejecting his disobedient Queen, Vashti, the King chooses as her successor Esther, who, unknown to him, is a Jewess. Meanwhile, the King's chief minister, Haman, who has been insulted at court by Esther's uncle, Mordecai, convinces Ahasverus that the Jews pose a threat to his sovereignty and that they must be destroyed. However, through the efforts of Esther and Mordecai, Haman's plot is revealed, he and his family executed, and the Israelites ennobled by the King. The book concludes with the establishment of the Feast of Purim which is celebrated in commemoration of these events.¹³

Aert de Gelder treated the story of Esther more than any other Dutch painter. There are at least ten extant works. Two are dated—1684 and 1685¹⁴—and the rest are datable to the same decade on the basis of their style (see Figs. 7–10, 12, 15–19).¹⁵ In each work, large half-length figures are shown; the execution is free throughout, with fluid passages of impasto and scumbling in the manner of Rembrandt's late work. In five examples a table appears at the right. The painting in Malibu is strongly related to

10a. Similar borrowing is evident between Rembrandt and Lastman. According to C. Tümpel ("Studien zur Ikonographie der Historien Rembrandts. Deutung und Interpretation der Bildinhalte," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jb.*, v. 20 (1969), 169), for his "Feast of Belshazzar" Rembrandt took from Lastman's "Anger of Ahasverus" (*Esther* VII, 8) the figure of the king with arms outstretched behind a banquet table.

11. Only Goudstikker calls the figure in the right foreground a woman, viz. Esther; the figure who drinks from his cup, an old man; and his companions, "personnages."

12. See Kahr, 17–32; and Bader, Introduction.

13. On *Esther* see Humphreys, *op. cit.*; R. Gordis, "Studies in the Esther Narrative," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, v. 95 (1976), 43–58; S. B. Berg, *The Book of Esther: Motifs, Themes and Structure*, Ann Arbor (Diss., U. of No. Iowa, 1977) 1979. A good modern English translation and commentary is by Rabbi M. Zlotowitz, *Megillah. The Book of Esther*, N. Y., 1976.

14. Those in Munich and Budapest (Figs. 8 and 17); six are signed (Figs. 7, 8, 9, 12, 17 and 19). All are oil on canvas, several of comparable size; cf. note 30 below.

these works in composition and technique. The same painterly bravura is evident, the scale of the half-length figures relative to the picture plane is nearly the same, and the use of a table at the lower right is identical as a horizontal stabilizing device.¹⁶ These correspondances of style may suggest a deeper relationship between our painting and the pictures from *Esther* than has formerly been supposed.

It is, I believe, the first chapter of *Esther* which contains a more likely source for this so-called *Feast of Belshazzar*. In verses 5 ff., which describe an opulent feast for all the male members of Ahasverus' court, we read:

- 5 Doe nu die dagen vervult waren, maeckte de Coninck een maeltijt al den volcke dat gevonden wert op de Burcht . . . van den groosten tot den kleynsten . . .
- 10 Op den sevenden dach, doe des Conincks herte vrolick was van wijn, seyde hy tot Mehuman, Biztha, Charbona, Bigtha, ende Abagtha, Zethar, ende Charchas, de seben Camerlingen (Of, hovelingen, ende soo in her volg. siet *Gen.* 37 op v. 36: 'Het Hebreewsch woort beteekent eygentlick eenen gesnedenen man . . .) dienende voor het aengesichte des Conincks Ahasveros.
- 11 Dat sy de Coningine soudren brengen voor aengesichte des Conincks . . . om den volckeren ende vorsten hare schoonheyt te toonen (Om dit te bevelen is de Coninck meer door dronckenschap beweect geworden, dan door verstandige redenen) want sey was schoon van aengesicht.

Now when those days were fulfilled, the King made a feast unto all the people that were found in the Castle . . . from the greatest unto the least . . .

On the seventh day when the king's heart was merry (sic . . . with wine) he said unto Mehuman, Biztha, Charbona, Bigtha, and Abagtha, Zethar, and Charchas, the seven chamberlains (Or courtiers . . . See *Gen.* 37 on verse 36: 'The Hebr. word doth properly signify an Eunuch . . .) serving before the face of the King.

That they should bring Vashti the Queen before the face of the King to show the nations and the princes her beauty (for the king to command such a thing as this, argued that he was moved thereunto by drunkenness rather than by sound or solid reason) for she was of a fair countenance.

Later, the eunuchs return from Vashti's banquet, held concurrently for the women of the court, and inform Ahasverus that his Queen has refused to appear.

This passage contains several details which may help to explain the meaning of the painting in the Getty Museum. The author is careful to distinguish between two classes of royal subjects in attendance: nobility and servants (" . . . van den groosten tot den kleynsten . . ."). In the painting, the coarse figures sitting opposite the King would represent the servants while the refined, haughty figures behind him would correspond to the princes. This distinction, it should be recalled, is made neither in *Daniel V* nor in any of the representations of *Belshazzar's Feast* which derive from it. Furthermore, the figures at the table could be identified more specifically as four of the seven eunuchs "dienende voor het aengesichte des Conincks . . ."^{16a} And, needless to say, these homely creatures are more easily explained as "gesnedenen" man-servants than as wives or concubines of the King of Persia. Finally, there can be little doubt that the turbaned figure is "vrolick . . . van wijn," as his empty stare, slovenly posture, and clumsiness clearly show (cf. the commentary: "Om dit te bevelen is de Coninck . . . door dronckenschap beweect geworden . . .").

The description of Ahasverus' banquet from *Esther I* thus corresponds to de Gelder's painting in all of its major details.¹⁷ Compared to the verse in *Daniel* which fails to conform to—and even contradicts—the visual evidence, the verse from *Esther* would seem to be a more plausible source.

The Feast of Belshazzar before the Sacred Vessels are Brought Forth or Belshazzar Desecrating the Vessels, but before the Intervention of the Hand of God are subjects un-

15. See van Fossen, 62 and 133 ff.; Lilienfeld, 41–6.

16. I know these works through black and white photographs only. According to Lilienfeld (43) the various *Esther* scenes agree in color. The painting in Malibu apparently shows a similar treatment; see van Fossen, 106.

16a. It was common practice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to show a few eunuchs, but not all seven. The only exception known to me is a small panel in the Uffizi by J. del Sellaio; Cf. the discussion below, p. 74, and Figs. 4, 5 and 6. Jewish manuscript illuminators contemporary with de Gelder also employed this shorthand technique; see p. 85, below

and Fig. 23. In addition, the careful balancing of a few large-scale figures which de Gelder favored during the 1680's would in this case not permit a too literal rendering of the text; Cf. Lilienfeld, 38.

17. There are other textual details which, in a less obvious way, may have bearing upon the subject of our painting. We learn in v. 8 that the guests were not compelled to drink ("NIEMANT DWINGE . . . datmen eenen yegelicken soude in schencken laten drincken so veel wijns als hy begeerde, ende niet meer"). This would help to explain the men who stand at the left watching with sober, perhaps slightly amused, expressions, removed both physically and psychologically from the drunken



Figure 4. Detail, *Feast of Ahasverus*. Bible, Judeo-Spanish (Bible of the House of Alba; facsimile). Beinecke Library, Yale University.



Figure 5. *Feast of Ahasverus*. Bible, Italian. Modena, Biblioteca Estense.

known in European Art prior to de Gelder's day. But *The Banquet of Ahasverus*—at the very moment when the King commands his eunuchs to fetch Vashti—does occur in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For example, a *bas-de-page* from a Spanish translation of a Hebrew bible (a well-known exemplar in the Alba Collection, c. 1422–33; Fig. 4) shows a eunuch who holds a goblet and kneels before a banquet table behind which sit the King and princes. The opposition of the servant on one side of the table and the King and nobility on the other, the attitude of Ahasverus, with an arm resting on the table's edge, and two of the princes (third and fourth from the right) who press against each other as they regard the interchange between King and servant, are reminiscent of de Gelder's work. In an Italian illumination of c. 1420–30 (Fig. 5), Ahasverus is shown sitting at the end of the table opposite four eunuchs, three standing at the far left (one in the immediate foreground, the heads of two others barely visible). A fourth eunuch sits at the table in the center of the composition and looks directly at the King who points to the doorway on the rear wall as he gives his command. The eunuch responds by likewise indicating the doorway. The narrative sequence is continued above where, in a balcony-like arrangement intended as another precinct of the palace, the Queen and a female companion sit at their own banquet. In the right background the eunuch reappears to deliver Ahasverus' message. This miniature and de Gelder's picture have several points in common. In each the King and servants face one another across a table as they do in the Alba Bible; both employ a shorthand technique whereby only four, not all seven of the eunuchs are shown; and in both works three eunuchs are crowded together in a single area while one is placed in plain view as he speaks with the King. The wing of a Flemish triptych (c. 1510; Fig. 6) reveals a similar version of the subject. Ahasverus sits before a cloth of honor wearing his royal ermine. The man next to him is similarly attired and hence meant to represent one of the nobility. Both look across the table at a third figure whose larger form eclipses that of a fourth. These again are the eunuchs “voor het

revelry—yet another detail which the passage from *Daniel* fails to clarify. It may also be significant that de Gelder has depicted three goblets of varying design, for this concurs with v. 7 which states that because the banquet was so lavish no two cups were alike (cf. the commentary: “ende vaten waren van de vaten onderscheyden; verscheyde of verandert”). In the painting, the King's goblet has a bell-shaped cup, a slender stem and circular base; that of the figure at the right has a funnel-shaped cup which seems to taper more gradually towards the bottom where it adjoins a pentafoil base.; the last, held by the figure behind the table, although not entirely visible, is nonetheless distinct from the others, having a more bulbous profile with a slight indentation below the lip.

18. It is worth noting that the States-General commentator provides a cross-reference from *Daniel* I to *Esther* I, and that two woodcuts used to il-

aengesichte des Conincks." Their position to one side recalls both the Italian miniature and the painting in Malibu. Yet, the large form of the seated eunuch, placed before the table and filling nearly the entire corner of the composition, is much closer to de Gelder's figure in terms of the spatial organization and surface design which result.

In sum, three scenes which show the moment in *Esther I* when Ahasverus calls for Vashti reveal striking visual and conceptual parallels with de Gelder's work. These parallels are perhaps more than coincidental: a common iconographic tradition seems to be implied. This, in conjunction with the literary evidence and with de Gelder's special interest in *Esther*, suggests that the painting in Malibu actually represents *The Feast of Ahasverus*, or more exactly, *Ahasverus Commands his Eunuchs to Fetch Vashti* (*Esther I*, 10).¹⁸

The tentative re-identification of the painting in Malibu may have important implications for our understanding of de Gelder's activity during the 1680's. Unlike the other works depicting scenes from *Esther*, it derives from the earliest episode in the book. Compare the subjects of the other paintings as they have usually been interpreted:

1. *Haman's Conspiracy against the Jews* (Birmingham; Fig. 18) Ch. III, 8.
2. *Esther Puts on Her Royal Apparel* (Munich; Fig. 8) V, 1.
3. *Idem.* (Potsdam, Fig. 7) *Ibid.*
4. *The Anger of Ahasverus* (Melbourne; Fig. 19) VII, 2.
5. *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Mordecai* (Copenhagen; Fig. 9) VIII, 2.
6. *Idem.* (Leipzig; Fig. 10) *Ibid.*
7. *Ahasverus Orders Mordecai to Write to the Jews, announcing the execution of Haman and Their Salvation* (D.V.R.K.; Fig. 12) VIII, 7-8.
8. *Mordecai Writing the Letters of Purim* (Dresden; Fig. 15) IX, 20-1.

illustrate *Esther* in a Dutch Bible of 1657 (Antwerp, v. Moerentorf) were adapted from *Daniel*, including "Ahasverus Banquet" taken from the "Feast of Belshazzar." Perhaps the relationship between de Gelder's painting and Rembrandt's (or one like it) should be considered in this way; a visual cross-reference. Both Midrashic and modern sources acknowledge the kinship of these stories. Midrash Yagin Veschechor (*Talmudic and Midrashic Exegesis on Wine and Strong Drink*, Detroit [trs. I. Koplowitz], 1923, 50-1) condemns both Belshazzar and Ahasverus for their drunkenness, noting that one loses his Kingdom and life, the other his Queen. According to M. I. Levey ("La Repudiation de Vashti," *Actes du 21. Congres Inter. des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1948, 11) the episode of Ahasverus and Vashti has "un cadre fourni par une combinaison d'elements emprunté a Daniel V, 1-3 et VI, 1; see Humphreys, 216-17.



Figure 6. *Feast of Ahasverus*. Left wing of an anon. Flemish Triptych. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale.



Figure 7. *Esther Puts on Her Apparel*. Aert de Gelder.
Potsdam-Sans Souci, Staatliche Schlösser.



Figure 8. *Esther Puts on Her Apparel*. Aert de Gelder.
Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

9. *Idem.* (Providence; Fig. 17) *Ibid.*
10. *Esther and Mordecai confirm the Letters of Purim* (Budapest; Fig. 16) IX, 30–32.

When the textual sources are compared, we are left with the impression that the artist's interests were heavily weighted towards the second half of the book. With the exception of *Haman's Conspiracy*, all derive from the last five chapters. Moreover, three scenes were apparently depicted twice: *Esther puts on Her Royal Apparel*; *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Mordecai*; *Mordecai Writes the Letters of Purim*. If this is true, it is difficult to understand why de Gelder chose to repeat relatively prosaic scenes such as *Esther Dressing* or *Mordecai Writing* while conspicuously avoiding the episodes from Chapters I–IV. Would it not have been more likely for him to explore the pictorial possibilities of these chapters rather than to repeat scenes of limited dramatic range? Also, if the painting in the Getty Museum represents the *Feast of Ahasverus* (I, 10), it was inspired by the earliest episode and is thus a noteworthy exception to de Gelder's apparent inclination to concentrate upon the final chapters. Perhaps de Gelder's intentions in some of these pictures, as in the *Feast of Ahasverus* (*Belshazzar's Feast* [?]), have been misunderstood.

A careful reading of the States-General version seems to verify this suspicion. For example, the paintings in Pots-

dam and Munich (Fig. 7 and 8) may not represent the same scene. The text (V, 1) describes the moment in the drama when Esther, having been made Queen, prepares to go before the King to request his and Haman's presence at dinner where she intends to reveal the chief minister's plot:

'T geschiedde nu aen . . . dat Esther een conincklick kleeft aentrock (*Hebr.* haer kleeft (met) Coninckrijk. Dat is, met het kleeft des Coninckrijcks: gelijk het vol staet ond. 6. 8. Siet aldaer met d'aent: " . . . het Conincklicke kleeft . . . dat de Coninck pleegt aen te trecken").

Now it came to pass . . . that Esther put on Royal apparel (*Hebr.* clothed her self with the kingdom: that is, with the apparel of the kingdom . . . See Ch. 6.8: 'The royal apparel . . . which the king useth to put on')

This is surely the verse which inspired the picture in Potsdam (Fig. 7). Queen Esther sits between her servants as they place the cape of ermine, signifying royalty, upon her shoulders (i.e. " . . . het Conincklicke kleeft . . . dat de Coninck pleegt aen te trecken."; cf. *Ahasverus'* costume in Figs. 1, 9, 10, 18, 19). But the subject of the painting in Munich (Fig. 8) is not so easily determined, for although the compositions and actions of the figures are similar to those in the work in Potsdam, the principal motif describ-

19. The *Esther* in Munich has been commonly called *Jewish Bride*; see Lilienfeld, 139. The large veil suggests the costume is indeed a wedding gown: according to Jewish sumptuary laws of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, only brides and expectant mothers could wear elaborate veils; others were limited to plain veils like those worn by the servants in this picture. See A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, N. Y., 1967,

196–7. Seventeenth and eighteenth century popular Dutch prints show Jewish weddings in which the bride is distinguished by a great veil; see M. H. Gans, *Memorbook. History of Dutch Jewry from the Renaissance to 1940*, Baarn, 1971, figs. on pp. 81, 138 and 167. The informal title *Jewish Bride* and the external evidence indicate that de Gelder has portrayed Esther as a bride, perhaps to legitimize her impending relationship with



Figure 9. *Presentation of the Ring*. Aert de Gelder. Copenhagen, Statens Museum.



Figure 10. *Presentation of the Ring*. Aert de Gelder. Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste.

ed by the commentary—the royal ermine—is lacking. The omission of this important detail requires an explanation, which Chapter II, 15 may well provide.

At that point in the story, Esther, having been chosen along with other virgins as a possible replacement for Vashti, enters the King's harem in the charge of its keeper, Hegai. In v. 9 we read:

. . . daerom haestede hy (Hegai) met hare (Esthers) cierselen, ende met hare deelen haer te geven (D* met al dat haer toequam, om nae behooren geciert te worden).

. . . therefore (Hegai) hastened to give (Esther) her ornaments and her portions (That is, all that belonged to her, to the end she might be duely adorned).

Following a twelve-month period of purification, each virgin was brought to the King in turn. Verse 15 states:

Als de Heurte Esthers . . . naeckte, dat sy tot den Coninck komen soude en begeerde sy niet met allen, dan dat Hegai . . . de bewaerder der vrouwen seyde (Dat is, haer gaef ordineerde; dat is, sy was moet den den cieraet dien Hegai haer gaf, wel te brengen, hy was dan hoe danich hy was).

When the turn of Esther approached, that she should go to the king, she required nothing at all, but what Hegai, the king's chamberlain, the keeper of the women said (That is she was well contented with

the apparel and ornament that Hegai gave her, be it what it would . . .)

Chapter II, then, may be the actual source for the painting in the Alte Pinakothek. Esther stands before us as the veil of her luxuriant but by no means royal apparel, given to her by Hegai, is arranged by her servants. The painting portrays the heroine as she prepares for her first intimacies with Ahasverus, not the moment before she intercedes at court.¹⁹ In addition, this interpretation accounts for the man seated at the table in the background in conversation with a third servant, i.e., the keeper of the harem, Hegai, who is absent in the painting in Potsdam.²⁰

A similar confusion seems to have arisen regarding two other works related in composition, both thought to represent *Ahasverus giving his Ring to Mordecai* (VIII, 2; Figs. 9 and 10).²¹ The picture in Copenhagen (Fig. 9) undoubtedly shows an aged Mordecai kneeling in humility as he receives the ring and royal sanction. The man who receives the ring in the other work (Fig. 10), however, is youthful by comparison, perhaps thirty to forty years of age. Furthermore, the female figure in the center need not be Esther. The full lips, painted eyes, and rather suggestive stare would be more appropriate for one of the Kings concubines (by-wijven). It is therefore possible that this work shows not VIII, 2, but III, 10 in which Haman, not Mordecai, is granted the ring and permission to exterminate

the King. Such is apparently the case with an illuminated Scroll of Esther; see below, p. 00 and note 36. According to H. Goetz "Persians and Persian Costumes in Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin*, 19 (1956), this particular gown is a Spanish fashion.

20. Lilienfeld (139) and van Fossen (144–5) identify this figure as a

woman, but it appears to me a broad-shouldered, beardless youth wearing a close-fitting cap; he speaks with a woman who makes a point with one hand and reaches into a basket or jewelry box with the other.

21. Van Fossen, 153–4 and Kahr, 145.



Figure 11. *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Haman*. Engraving after van Heemskerck. Photo: Netherlands Art Institute.



Figure 12. *Haman before Esther and Ahasverus*. Aert de Gelder. The Hague, D.V.R.K.

the Jews, an interpretation which is perhaps confirmed by one of a series of engravings after Maarten van Heemskerck, *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Haman* (Fig. 11).²² The arrangement of the figures in the foreground is close to de Gelder's composition, only in full-length: the King stands in the center upon a dais; he holds his scepter in his right hand and extends his left towards his chief minister; Haman appears at the right one step lower of the dais to accept the ring; between them is a woman, perhaps Esther, but more likely one of the King's concubines. The alternation of the King, woman, and Haman in a diagonal line descending from left to right is strongly reminiscent of the painting in Leipzig (cf. Fig. 10).

The work in the Hague (Fig. 12) represents Ahasverus enthroned, Esther next to him holding a book, and a third figure kneeling before them. It is thought to portray Chapter VIII, 7–8, in which Ahasverus informs Mordecai of Haman's demise and orders him to notify the Jews throughout the empire of their salvation.²³ But once again we are hard-pressed to see an aged Mordecai in the figure who kneels before Esther and the King. The slightly bald pate, black hair, and thick black beard are not those of an old man. Moreover, the profile recalls the figure of Haman in Leipzig (cf. Fig. 10), while the scornful countenance of Esther as she looks at the kneeling figure would be inappropriate if he were Mordecai. It is therefore possible that it is Haman who kneels before the royal couple, and the

events described in Ch. VI may help to determine the precise narrative action.

In Ch. VI, v. 2 we learn that Ahasverus, suffering from insomnia, commands that the *Chronicles of the Kingdom* be read to him. There he finds that Mordecai has revealed a plot by two chamberlains against the King's life (cf. II, 21–3). Consequently (vs. 6–9) he asks Haman how such a man should be rewarded. Haman, unaware that the King refers to Mordecai (believing he himself is the object of Ahasverus' concern), replies that he ought to be dressed in royal garb and led through the city upon the King's horse by the princes of the court. Thus (vs. 10–11):

Doe seyde de Coninck tot Haman, Haest u, neemt dat kleedt, ende dat peert, gelijk als ghy gesproken hebt, ende doet Mordechai den Jode alsoo . . .

Ende Haman nam dat kleedt ende dat peert, en trock het kleedt het Mordechai aen, ende dede hem ryden door de straten . . .

Then the king said unto Haman, make haste, take that apparel, and that horse, according as thou hast spoken, and do so to Mordechai the Jew . . .

And Haman took that apparel and that horse and put the apparel upon Mordechai and caused him to ride through the streets of the city . . .

The picture in the Hague may, then, illustrate Ch. VI, v. 10. Haman kneels to receive the royal command, and the

22. Hollstein, VII, 74; by P. Galle. The engravings are discussed in relation to Rembrandt's so-called *Disgrace of Haman* by van de Waal, 201 ff.

23. Van Fossen, 154–6 and Kahr, 143. According to van Fossen, the face of Ahasverus has been repainted.

24. The design of this cut was not originally intended to illustrate *Esther* VI, 10, but *Daniel* V, 25–8. The barefoot figure at the left is the Prophet explaining the writing on the wall, the recoiling King is Belshazzar, and the men between them the court astrologers; cf. the works of Verhaghen and v. Straten in the *D.I.A.L. Index* and the drawing by

book in Esther's hands perhaps refers back to the Chronicles of vs. 1–2. Furthermore, whereas the subject proposed by Kahr and van Fossen would be unique in Christian art, *Ahasverus commanding Haman to Honor Mordecai* was known in the Low-Countries in engraving and book illustration. In another of the prints after van Heemskerck, three scenes from Ch. VI are conflated (Fig. 13): the King sits up in bed; a servant stands at the left holding the Chronicles (VI, 1–2); Ahasverus commands Haman standing before him to honor the Jew (VI, 10); and in the distant right background Haman appears leading Mordecai upon a horse through the streets (VI, 11). A second example, apparently related to the engraving, is found in an illustrated Dutch Bible of 1657 (Antwerp, van Moerentorf; Fig. 14). Here the King is enthroned as in de Gelder's work. In the left foreground stands Haman, and between him and Ahasverus are the other officials of the court. The arrangement of the figures, with the King at right, Haman at the lower left, and the officials in between correspond to de Gelder's placement of Ahasverus, Haman and Esther, respectively.²⁴

Determining the subjects of three paintings, all compositionally related and believed to represent Ch. IX, is more complex (see Figs. 15, 16, and 17). The picture in Dresden (Fig. 15) probably depicts the *Writing of the First Letters of Purim* as recounted in IX, 20–21.²⁵ Esther and Mordecai are shown at a table. Esther stands and looks at her seated uncle who holds a quill-pen and parchment as he returns the glance. Compare vs. 20–21:

Ende Mordechai beschreef dese geschiednissen; end hy sondt brieven aen alle de Joden, die in alle de lantschappe des Conincks Ahasveros waren . . .

Om over hen te bevestigen dat sy souden onderhouden den veertienden dach der maent Adar, ende den vijftiendenden dach der selver in alle jieder jaer . . .

And Mordechai wrote down these things; and he sent the letters unto all the Jews that were in all the countries of the king. . .

To establish among them that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same every year . . .

The work in Providence (Fig. 17) may at first appear to be another version of the same scene.²⁶ Mordecai sits at a table with quill and parchment in hand as he looks at Esther. But Esther is now seated and she also holds parch-



Figure 13. *Ahasverus Orders Haman to Honor Mordecai*. Engraving after van Heemskerck. Photo: Netherlands Art Institute.



Figure 14. *Ahasverus Orders Haman to Honor Mordecai*. Bible, Dutch. New York Public Library.

Lastman in Bader, fig. 12; cf. notes 6, 10a and 18 above.

25. Van Fossen, 157–8; Kahr, 144; Bader, 130–2. Lilienfeld, 143: “Kap. 9.”

26. Van Fossen, *Ibid.*; Bader, *Ibid.*; unknown to Lilienfeld.



Figure 15. *Esther and Mordecai*. Aert de Gelder. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

ment upon which writing is visible. To the right, lying on the table next to an inkwell, is a second pen, which, we may justly assume, Esther has used to write the letter she holds. The source for this work is not IX, 20–21, but instead IX, 29 which describes the writing of the *Second Letters of Purim*, composed later in order to re-affirm Mordecai's letters of the previous year. The text states:

Daerna schreef de Coninginne Esther . . . ende Mordachai de Jode met aller macht (Dat is, sy schreven deze brieven soo sterck, ende met sulcke ernstige woorden ende bevelen als sy immer konden) desen brief van Purim (Van welken gesproken wort hob. uff 20, 21, 22) den tweeden male te bevestigen. (Erst hadde Mordechai de dagen der Purim bevesticht, v. 20. Maer om het neerstich onderhouden der selver te verfolgen, so heeft Esther (wiens autoriteyt groot was by den Joden) het bevel van het onderhouden deser dagen, weder om door hare brieven vernieuwt ende bekrachticht, op dat doch de memorie harer verlossinge niet en soude in vergetinge komen).

After that Esther the Queen . . . and Mordechai the Jew wrote with all power (that is, they wrote these letters so strong, and with as earnest words and commands as ever they were able to do) to confirm this letter of Purim (whereof mention is made above 20. 21. 22.) the second time. (First Mordechai had established the days of Purim, vers. 20. But to prosecute the diligent observation thereof, Esther—whose authority was great with the Jews—did by her letters again renew and ratify the observation and keeping of these days, that the memorial of their deliverance might not in any wise come to be forgotten).

Thus, close reading of the text again reveals that two



Figure 16. *Esther and Mordecai*. Aert de Gelder. Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Muzeum.

paintings, which have until now been considered the same scene, probably represent entirely different moments in the story: the picture in Dresden (Fig. 15), in which only Mordecai writes as Esther looks on, depicts the *Writing of the First Letters of Purim* (IX, 20–21) while the picture in Providence (Fig. 17), showing both Esther and Mordecai actively engaged in the composition of the letters (cf. the commentary: “. . . sy schreven deze brieven soo sterck, ende met sulcke ernstige woorden ende bevelen, als sy immer konden”), represents the *Writing of the Second Letters of Purim* (IX, 29), the necessity for which the commentary goes to great lengths to explain. This distinction between the First and Second Letters of Purim may not seem very significant to the modern reader unfamiliar with the States-General edition and out of touch with the spirited study of the scriptures which characterized Dutch life in the seventeenth century. But de Gelder and his contemporaries strove in general to know the Bible intimately, and in this particular case, to understand exactly how and why the Feast of Purim was instituted. Therefore, in the Providence canvas de Gelder seated Esther at the table, put parchment in her hands, and placed a second pen on the table in order to make clear this distinction for his knowledgeable and demanding viewers.

A third composition in Budapest (Fig. 16), similar to those in Dresden and Providence, is identified by M. Kahr as de Gelder's version of Ch. IX, 30–32 which describes the moment following the writing of the Letters of Purim.^{26a} Verses 30–32 state:

Ende (Mordechai) sondt de brieven aen alle de Joden . . .
Dat sy dese dagen van Purim bevestigen soudent . . .

26a. Kahr, 144.



Figure 17. *Esther and Mordecai*. Aert de Gelder. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design.

Ende het bevel Esthers bevestigen de geschiednissen van dese Purim: ende 't wert in een boeck geschreven.

And (Mordechai) sent the letters to all the Jews . . .
That they should confirm these days of Purim . . .

And the command of Esther confirmed the acts of these Purims: and it was written in the book.

This identification is problematic. An analysis of the other pictures in relation to the text indicates that de Gelder was extremely sensitive as a biblical interpreter, relying upon smaller details (often thrown into higher relief by the commentary) in order to make clear the precise identity of his subject. Yet, the verse cited by Kahr does not truly clarify the narrative action of this picture. The painting shows Mordecai and Esther sitting at a table in conversation. While the open book on the table is consistent with IX, 32, there is no pen, no ink-well, nothing to suggest that either figure is writing or has just finished writing in the book as the text would seem to require (cf. "Ende het wert in een boeck geschreven"); nor is there any indication that Esther has given a command, either written or verbal (cf. "Ende het bevel Esthers bevestichde de geschiedenissen . . ."). To the contrary, she seems to be receiving instructions from her uncle who sits at the left and looks at her intently. His lips are parted in speech as he explains his words by enumerating, point by point, on the fingers of his left hand. Esther responds with a gesture perhaps meant to convey surprise or apprehension. The general impression which results suggests that the moment portrayed is of ominous import, not the concluding verse of Ch. IX which is the joyous denouement of the establishment of Purim.

There are two passages in *Esther* which recount Mordecai imparting a message to his niece. The beginning of Ch. II, before Esther has become Queen, relates how Mordecai feared that Esther would loose favor at court if she were discovered to be a Jewess. And so (II, 10):

. . . Mordechai hadde haer geboden, dat sy 't niet en soude te kennen geven. (T. w. daerom, om dat de Joden te dier tijd in groote kleynachtinge waren).

. . . Mordechai had charged her that she should not make it known (to wit, because the Jews at that time were in great contempt).

A second passage, which concludes the same chapter following the marriage of Ahasverus and Esther, describes how Mordecai saved the King's life (vs. 21–22):

In die dagen, als Mordechai in de poorte des Conincs sat; werden . . . twee Camerlingen . . . seer toornich (T. w. op den Coninck) ende sy sochten de hant te slaen aen den Coninck Ahasveros.

Ende dese sake wert Morechai bekent gemaect, ende hy gaffe de Coninginne Esther te kennen; ende Esther seyd 'et den Coninck in Mordechais name. (emphasis mine).

In those days when Mordechai sat in the kings gate; . . . two chamberlains . . . were very angry (to wit, with the king) and they sought to lay hand on the King Ahasveros.

And this thing was made known unto Mordechai, and he acquainted Queen Esther therewith; and Esther told it to the king in Mordechais name.

(emphasis mine)

Either verse from Chapter II may have inspired the pic-

ture in Budapest. Both mention Mordecai giving instructions to Esther, and both moments had great consequences for ensuing events. In the first, Esther is assured of becoming Queen because she does not divulge that she is Jewish.²⁷ In the second, the King's life is saved and Mordecai later rewarded with promotion to princely status, thus assuring the salvation of his people. In terms of plot development the latter verse is the more critical moment and perhaps better explains the manifest dramatic tensions. However, the book on the table—which could only be an incidental motif if we accept either verse as the source—is not satisfactorily explained. The *Esther and Mordecai* in Budapest remains problematic.²⁸

A careful reading of the original Dutch text and close attention to the nuance of narrative details which de Gelder has rendered suggests that some of his scenes from *Esther* have been misinterpreted. Accepting these re-identifications, if only for the sake of a working hypothesis, the disproportionate concern for the last five chapters is significantly reduced. Also, a more even treatment of Ch. IX has become apparent. A revised list of the works, including now the *Feast of Ahasverus* in Malibu, reveals a more likely balance:

1. *The Feast of Ahasverus* (Malibu; Fig. 1) I, 10.
2. *The Bride Esther Prepares to Meet the King* (Munich; Fig. 8) II, 15.
3. *Mordecai Charges Esther not to Reveal She is a Jew or Mordecai warns Esther of the Conspiracy Against the King* [?] (Budapest; Fig. 16) II, 10 or II, 22.
4. *Haman's Conspiracy against the Jews* (Birmingham; Fig. 18) III, 8.
5. *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Haman* (Leipzig; Fig. 10) III, 10.
6. *Queen Esther Prepares to Intercede at Court* (Potsdam; Fig. 7) V, 1.
7. *Ahasverus Orders Haman to Honor Mordecai*

27. Contemporary Dutch scholars acknowledged the importance of Esther's secret: In Utrecht, 1653, Dr. J. Leusden asked a student, "Why was the queen called Esther?"; he replied that her name derived from *mesatteret* (hiding) and that "she hid her works and concealed her origin," N. S. Doniach, *Purim or the Feast of Esther*, Phila., 1933, 37.

28. Van Fossen's interpretation accounts for the book: it is Haman's decree to destroy the Jews, obtained by Mordecai and now sent to Esther by the eunuch, Hatach. However, it is difficult to see the bearded old man as a eunuch ("Camerlingen . . . hovelingen . . . eenen gesnedenen man"), while the beard and facial type are close to Mordecai in Figs. 15 & 16.

29. Consider also two lost works whose subjects are identifiable from catalogue descriptions known to Lilienfeld (Nos. 32 and 33): *Der Triumph der Mardochai* (VI, 11) and *Esther vor Ahasver mit einigen Personen Seines Gefolges* (V, 2). There is also a convincing reconstruction by Lilienfeld

- (D.V.R.K.; Fig. 12) VI, 10.
8. *The Anger of Ahasverus* (Melbourne; Fig. 19) VII, 7-8.
9. *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Mordecai* (Copenhagen; Fig. 9) VIII, 2.
10. *Mordecai Writes the First Letters of Purim* (Dresden; Fig. 15) IX, 20-21.
11. *Esther and Mordecai Write the Second Letters of Purim* (Providence; Fig. 17) . . IX, 29.

When viewed in this way, Aert de Gelder's paintings of *Esther* take on a new programmatic character.²⁹ We are no longer confronted with a group of scenes chosen from the same book at random, without due concern for all stages of the drama. Now we find an unbroken sequential narrative which traces the events from the very beginning to the end of the story. In addition, the picture in Malibu, once believed to depict the *Feast of Belshazzar*, takes place at the beginning of that sequence which the first episode of the book sets into motion: the moment when the King makes his fateful command for Vashti to appear, leading to Esther's ascent to the throne and the deliverance of the Jews from the devious Haman. There has emerged the distinct possibility that de Gelder pursued a cyclical treatment of the Book of Esther *in extenso*, that his activity during the 1680's involved the most thorough, systematic, and sensitive treatment of this story in seventeenth century Dutch painting.³⁰

The cyclical nature of de Gelder's paintings of Esther has precedent in the series of eight engravings by van Heemskerck. De Gelder may have known these prints, and it is possible that they encouraged him to treat the story in a cyclical manner. Moreover, his *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Haman*, and perhaps also his *Ahasverus Orders Haman to Honor Mordecai*, would seem to be related to two engravings in particular. Beyond this, however, de Gelder departs significantly from van Heemskerck in his choice of

(No. 33) from fragments in Amiens and Berlin, *Ahasver und Haman Beim Mahl der Esther* (VII, 5-6); see J. P. Foucart-Borville, "Un tableau reconstitué au Musée d'Amiens, *Revue du Louvre et des Mus. de France*, 20 (1970), 209-20.

30. The cycle proposed here need not be a single commission. Indeed, while some of the dimensions are sufficiently close, others vary greatly:

i. Malibu	- 115 X 142	Cf. i. Birmingham	- 117 X 138
ii. Munich	- 137 X 157	ii. Melbourne	- 80 X 96
iii. Budapest	- 94 X 148	iii. Copenhagen	- 76 X 93
iv. Potsdam	- 108 X 148	iv. Providence	- 59 X 143
v. Leipzig	- 108 X 134		
vi. D.V.R.K.	- 115 X 160	vii. Dresden	- 102 X 152

It is more likely that the works were commissioned individually or in small groups by a select circle of patrons during the eighties, perhaps cer-



Figure 18. *Haman's Conspiracy against the Jews*. Aert de Gelder. Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts.

certain scenes. If fact, the subjects of some of de Gelder's pictures—including *The Virgin Esther Prepares to Meet the King* (II, 15), *The Conspiracy of Haman* (III, 8), *The King Gives His Ring to Mordecai* (VIII, 2) and *The First . . . and The Second Letters of Purim* (IX 20–1 and IX 29)—are, to my knowledge, unprecedented in Christian art as a whole. Rather, they occur only in certain Jewish liturgical manuscripts intended for use in the home during Purim celebrations: namely, *Scrolls of Esther* (*Megilloth*).³¹

With the emigration of a large Jewish population from Southern Europe to the Netherlands during the early seventeenth century, there arrived in Amsterdam many Jewish artists—some known to us by name³²—who supplied the Jewish community with illuminated texts. Between 1650 and 1700 Amsterdam was the preeminent cen-

tain wealthy Jewish families residing in the Netherlands. It may be significant that Jewish patrons in Italy circumvented the iconoclastic precepts of their religion by purchasing images only of half-length format: no "Bodies at Large," none "where the bodies are complete," A. Rubens, *Some Aspects of Jewish Iconography*, London, Jewish Museum, 1955, n. p.

31. My friend and colleague Daniel Reich of the University of Chicago first suggested to me *Scrolls of Esther* as a possible source for de Gelder.

32. Salom Italia, Aron de Chaves and Raphael Montalto; E. Namenyi, "La miniature juive au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, n.s. 16 (1957), 37–41.

33. *Ibid.*, 39. A treatise on the production and use of *Megilloth*, *Talmoed—tractaat "Megillah"*, appeared in Amsterdam, 1700. For analysis of several Dutch, Italian and German exemplars see M. Metzger's series of articles in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vols. 45 (1962–63), 46 (1963–64) and 48 (1965–66).



Figure 19. *Wrath of Ahasverus*. Aert de Gelder. Melbourne, National Gallery.

ter in Europe for production of illuminated *Scrolls of Esther*.³³ These works consist of the text of Esther written by hand in a series of columns, accompanied in the upper and lower margins by engraved, often painted, vignettes. Some exemplars contain as many as thirty-five illuminations—the most extensive, detailed treatment of the story in the visual arts. The quality of these pictures varies from the highly sophisticated to the rudimentary and naive; direct copying of older works and the repeated use of the same engraved plates were standard procedures.³⁴

The comparison of scenes found in illuminated *Megilloth* with certain of de Gelder's paintings reveals interesting parallels.³⁵ For example, a work from the late 1600's contains *The Bride Esther Prepares to Meet the King* (II, 15; Fig. 20).³⁶ Esther stands at center while to either side two

34. Like Christian medieval manuscript illuminators, the Jewish artists customarily used older prototypes. See H. Frauberger, "Über alte Kultusgegenstände im Synagoge und Haus," *Mitt. d. Gesellsch. zur Erforschungen Jüdischer Kunstdenkmaler*, Frankfurt a. M., 1903, III/IV, 65 and M. Dunsky, *Decorated Esther Scrolls in the Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, M. A. Diss., N. Y. U., 1954, 35. Free exchange between different geographic areas is common, especially between Italy and the Netherlands; see Metzger, "Italian *Megilloth*," v. 48, 288 and 399; Namenyi, 37.

35. I am grateful to Dr. Menahem Schmelzer and Mrs. Sharon Muller of the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, New York, for making available to me their fine collection of illuminated *Megilloth* and for their kind assistance throughout my research.

36. A popular exemplar, probably Dutch; there are four impressions in the *Jewish Theological Seminary*, L 329, L 337, Acc. 01259. This scene is followed by "The Wedding of Ahaservus & Esther"; cf. note 19 above.



Figure 20. *Esther Prepares to Meet the King*. Megillah. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.



Figure 21. *Ahasverus Gives His Ring to Mordecai*. Megillah (facsimile). Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

handmaidens arrange her bridal veil. Except for the full-length format, this tiny picture contains the compositional essentials of the painting in the Alte Pinakothek (cf. Fig. 8); it would also seem to confirm the identity of de Gelder's painting as *Esther II*, 15, as proposed above. A similar relationship is evident between the painting in Copenhagen (Fig. 9) and illuminations of *Ahasverus Giving His Ring to Mordecai* (cf. Fig. 21), for here too the kneeling figure of the old man appears before the elevated figure of the King as he receives the ring and royal sanction.³⁷ Finally, like *The Bride Esther* and *Mordecai Receives the Ring*, *The First . . . and Second Letters of Purim* in Dresden and Providence find their only precedents in Scrolls of Esther. Both scenes—showing only Mordecai writing and Mordecai and Esther writing together—are common. In the example reproduced here (*The Second Letters*; Fig. 22) we find the basic compositional principles employed by de Gelder: Esther and Mordecai sit opposite one another with the inkwell and letters upon the table as they write “soo sterck . . . als sy immer konden” (cf. Fig. 17).³⁸ Admittedly, in this and the other examples de Gelder has far surpassed the illuminators in subtlety of atmosphere, as his medium allowed, and in depth of human expression, as his association with Rembrandt must have engendered. He has altered the compositions significantly by using half-length figures, lowering the viewpoint, and placing Esther in the foreground of the Providence canvas in

order to emphasize spatial recession. He has also expanded upon narrative details, such as including Hegai in the background of *The Virgin Esther* and the figure of Esther in *Ahasverus gives the Ring to Mordecai*. However, recognition of the formal and motival similarities and differences is not the most important point to be made here. It is more significant that these particular scenes, chosen by de Gelder although unknown in previous Christian art, had explicit currency in Jewish manuscripts produced in Amsterdam and elsewhere in Europe during the 1680's. It is therefore possible that Aert was familiar with works like these and that he used them as a point of departure, both for the individual passages which he chose to illustrate and for the exegetical sequential narrative which results.

It is also important to note that, with the exception of the problematic *Esther and Mordecai* in Budapest, de Gelder's other scenes find their nearest parallels in *Megillah*: for example, the picture in Malibu. *The Feast of Ahasverus* is one of the most frequently depicted subjects, always appearing at the beginning of the scroll. Usually a banquet table surrounded by the King, princes, and servants is shown; the *Feast of Vashti* sometimes follows. In a charmingly naive though spirited work in the Jewish Theological Seminary (Fig. 23),³⁹ we find the King seated at a table at the right, accompanied by three eunuchs. With a gesture of his right arm recalling the figure in the Italian

37. S. Silberstein, *Eine in Kupfer Gestochene Estherrolle aus der Universitätsbibliothek zu Rostock* (Facsimile), Rostock, 1930, V. 2. An eclectic work deriving from 17th-Century Dutch, Italian and French models, c. 1700–10; Silberstein, v. 1, 7. It is interesting to note that in this particular scroll, and many others, the illuminators distinguished between the presentation of the ring to Mordecai and to Haman by simply reversing

the composition; cf. de Gelder, Figs. 9 & 10.

38. J. T. S. L 299. Dutch, c. 1640. The plates are like those used in a *Megillah* by Salom Italia; see *Judisches Lexikon*, Berlin, v. 4 (1930), fig. p. 47.

39. J. T. S. Acc. 04270.

40. Although much has been lost, there is evidence of a rich tradition



Figure 22. *Esther and Mordecai Write the Second Letters of Purim. Megillah.* New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

illuminated Bible (cf. Fig. 5), the King makes his command. On the left, two of the eunuchs reappear before Vashti who refuses to comply. While this is a relatively crude work with doll-like figures rendered in simple contour, it suggests nonetheless that depictions of *Esther I*, 10 also had currency in de Gelder's day. This is significant because the examples from the illuminated Bibles and the Flemish Triptych cited above, while clearly related, would almost certainly not have been familiar to de Gelder directly. Illuminated *Megilloth* may well represent the point of transmission, for it is generally acknowledged that the scrolls datable to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries derive from Medieval manuscripts such as the Alba Bible.⁴⁰ However, it remains to locate an example which bears a closer formal relationship to the painting in the Getty Museum.

There is one such example known to me. Although of very late date, it is close enough to de Gelder's composition to warrant our attention. It appears in a *Feast of Ahasverus* from a *Megillah* published in book form in 1925.⁴¹ The lower half of the composition reveals all the elements of de Gelder's painting similarly arranged (Fig. 24; cf. Fig. 1). In the foreground, the drunken King leans with his left arm before a table placed at the right; his right hand is placed on his lap, and in his left he holds a large goblet which tilts to the left. Next to him is a eunuch cut off by the right border, his hand and head appearing

in profile. Behind the table are two figures, probably other eunuchs. The head of one is visible only in part, eclipsed by the larger form of a second figure in plain view. And finally, behind the King at the far left are two princes who stand together, removed from the main action. The similarities with the painting in Malibu are striking: the attitude of the King; his goblet; the eunuch to whom he speaks, gesturing slightly with one hand; the other eunuchs appearing behind the table, one in plain view, the other partially obscured; and the two princes at left standing together, the counterparts of the mysterious gentlemen in our painting. Thus, if we ignore the decorative embellishments typical of popular art during the 1920's—including the excessive surface pattern and large orientализing vase left of center—the compositional and motival essentials of de Gelder's painting are discernible in a modern work which probably reflects an older prototype. As noted above, the illustrated cycles of illuminated *Megilloth* are remarkable for their constancy in terms of both time and geography. Since it can be shown that exemplars from the late eighteenth century are direct copies of those from the early seventeenth,⁴² there is, in my opinion, no reason to assume that the iconographic traditions would not extend into our own century, especially because we are dealing with liturgical art in which the preservation of time-honored prototypes plays an essential role; the most likely source for the modern illustrator would have been much older works such as those discussed here. It is for this reason that the figures of the King, princes, and eunuchs in this final example recall not only de Gelder's picture, but also the corresponding figures in the Alba Bible (cf. Fig. 4).

There is, then, reason to believe that the picture in the Getty Museum actually shows the initial episode from the *Book of Esther*. In addition, a re-examination of other scenes from *Esther* suggests that they have also been misidentified. When re-titled and viewed together with the picture in Malibu, they indicate that de Gelder approached the story of Esther with programmatic intent. It is hoped that this hypothesis, however incorrect it may be in some or all of its particulars, may lead to a more complete understanding of de Gelder as a narrative artist.

It is generally assumed that de Gelder practiced an uninspired narrative style full of mundane, meaningless detail.⁴³ According to van Fossen, Aert's sole interest in

for illuminated Hebrew Bibles and *Haggadah* (manuscripts used during Passover, often containing scenes from *Esther*) in the Late Middle-Ages. See J. Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, London, 1944, 72ff. and M. Fooner, "Joel ben Simeon, Illuminator of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 27 (1937), no. 3.; See also Kahr, 35.

41. *Megillat Ester*, Paris (H. Piazza), 1925.

42. For example, J. T. S. S2 282a (Sulzberger Coll.), dated 1784, is a copy of an Italian exemplar of the early 17th-Century, J. T. S. L 332 *et al.* and Yale Hebr. 2; Cf. note 34 above.

43. Especially van Fossen, 145, 159; Kahr, 104; Lilienfeld, 41.



Figure 23. *Feast of Ahasverus*. Megillah. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.



Figure 24. Detail, *Feast of Ahasverus*. Megillah. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

costume was its decorative aspect. But careful analysis of the two *Toilets of Esther* in relation to the text implies quite the opposite. It seems that de Gelder manipulated certain details of costume (emphasized by the States General commentary) in order to underscore the dramatic significance of the moment: the shy, apprehensive bride in her nuptial finery (Fig. 8); the resolute monarch in her impressive cloak of ermine (Fig. 7). De Gelder also apparently rendered details which are implied but not explicitly stated in the text, such as the dark figure of Hegai, keeper of the harem, who remains to assure the King's desires are fulfilled, or Esther holding the Chronicles which attest to her uncle's loyalty as Ahasverus orders Haman to honor Mordecai (Fig. 12). Finally, gesture and facial expression play an equally important role in the overall narrative plan: the King's look of sudden realization in *The Conspiracy of Haman* (Fig. 18); his tight-fisted rage in *The Wrath of Ahasverus* (Fig. 19); or the look of exaltation on Mordecai's face (Fig. 17) as he and his niece confirm in writing the triumph of their people.

Other evidence presented here indicates that de Gelder's imagery is in some respects very traditional, deriving from iconographic prototypes perhaps known to him through contemporary Jewish manuscripts.⁴⁴ Indeed, de Gelder's knowledge of Scrolls of Esther would be en-

tirely consistent with our view of Rembrandt, his following, and Dutch culture as a whole during the 1600's. The Netherlands had by then become the center for Judaic studies in Europe,⁴⁵ and the proliferation of these illuminated scrolls must have aroused the active interest of artists eager to learn ways of depicting the story. It is possible that de Gelder owes something to the Jewish illuminators. Like them, he chose to portray certain scenes not treated by other Christian artists; he also employed similar compositional formulae; and, more important, he conceived of *Esther* as an extended narrative sequence of intimately related scenes. In a sense, de Gelder's paintings of *Esther* may represent a monumental elaboration of the illuminated *Megillah* popular in Amsterdam during the eighties. But if this is the case, it should also be acknowledged that he has monumentalized not merely in scale, but also in dramatic intensity and psychological depth. His mastery of Rembrandt's fluid, tonal style, and expressive chiaroscuro; his sensitive study of the text; and an awareness of iconographic precedent combine in a narrative art of admirable strength. As the story unfolds, scene by scene, we learn not only about the plight of the Jewish Nation in the time of Esther. We sense also that de Gelder has revealed something fundamental about a human struggle to be free.

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44. Van Fossen (140) and Kahr (144) have stressed the uniqueness of de Gelder's choice of scenes from *Esther*.

45. Doniach, 87.

Some Greek Sculpture in Malibu

During the last few years, the collection of ancient sculpture was notably increased. The aim of the present note is to introduce five pieces which deserve special interest and further study.

1. FRAGMENTARY RELIEF OF A HOPLITODROMOS¹ 75.AA.91

Presented by N. Koutoulakis
Pentelic marble, H: 16 cm.

The left edge is original. This must have been a votive relief, possibly by a victor in the armed race. Two letters from an inscription survive above the helmet: ΟΔ; traces

of the bottoms of three letters are on the line above.

The piece seems to date still from the first half of the fifth century B.C. Epigraphists will have to decide the chronology of the surviving letters.

The piece's nearest kin is the small bronze hoplitodromos Tux² which may date 10–15 years earlier.

1. Unpublished. The present text reproduces the short note in our *Checklist* 1, 1979, no. 10.

2. Cf. *Der Tübingen Waffenläufer* (ed. U. Hausmann), 1977, for the bibl. (1972); add. p. 3: C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie Grecque*, *La Sculpture*, II, 1939, 172, fig. 5.



Figure 1. Fragmentary relief of a hoplitodromos. Malibu.

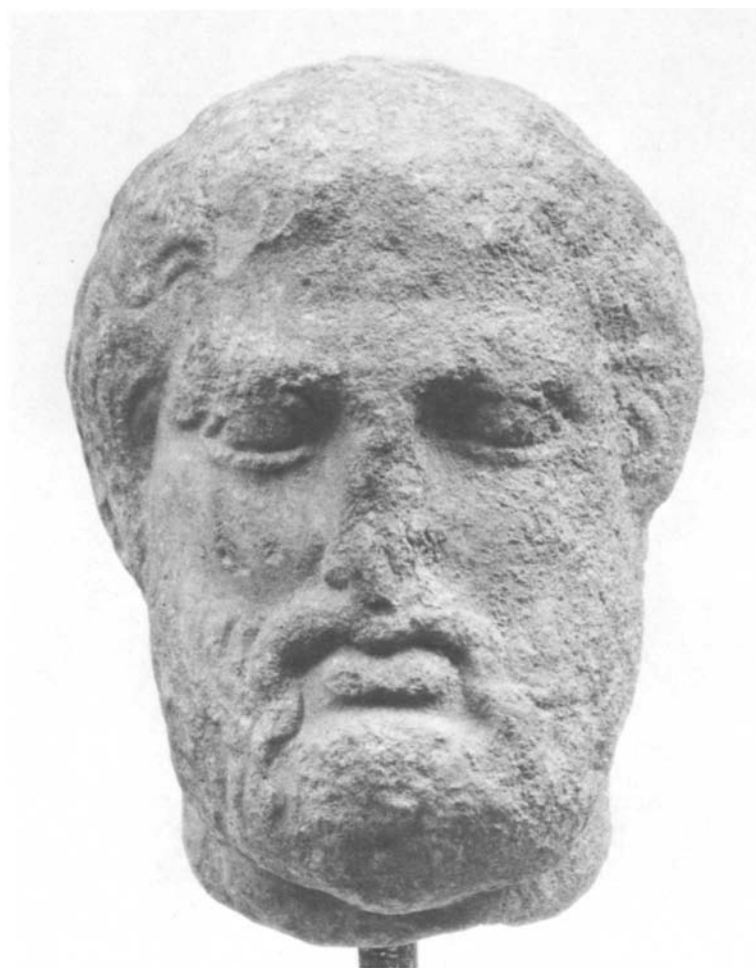


Figure 2. Bearded male head. Malibu.

2. BEARDED MALE HEAD

79.AA.131

Pentelic marble, H: 15 cm.

Among the antiquities purchased for the museum from the Ernest Brummer sale in November 1979 was a small bearded marble head identified in the sale catalogue as an original of the fifth century B.C.¹ The pentelic marble is covered by a thick patina of a golden brown color, which pleasantly masks the weathering on the left side of the face. This, together with the asymmetry of the face, indicates the proper view of the head was from three quarters left. This orientation excludes the possibility of a herm a reconstruction to which one might be tempted by the rather square contour of the nape.

As a comparison, another bearded head originally from the last decade of the first half of the fifth century comes to mind,² but the Brummer head is a little later.

The chronology corresponds approximately to the Parthenon metopes, but the style is different. It is slightly

more old-fashioned and plainer; but the result is a more forceful expression. This may be due also to the nature of the personality represented, a bearded god not as magnificent as Zeus but with a powerful personality.

The patina, the scale, and the style are very compatible with the pedimental sculptures of the Poseidon Temple at Sounion. A direct comparison with the Athena from the pediment (following the reconstruction of A. Delivorrias) suggests that the Brummer head may be her pendant, the Poseidon from the same pediment.

1. Ernest Brummer Collection, sale catalogue, II, 1979, no. 597. Pentelic marble, H: 0.15 m.

2. Athens National Museum no. 3850, S. Karouzou, *Collection of Sculpture* (English version, 1968) 43; *Arch. Delt.* 10 (1926) Parart. 80, no. 59, fig. 29.

3. A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akroteria des 5. Jahrhunderts*, 1979, 70 sqq., figs. 21, 22, reconstruction 79 sq., pl. 5.



Figure 3. Right profile of Fig. 2.



Figure 4. Left profile of Fig. 2.

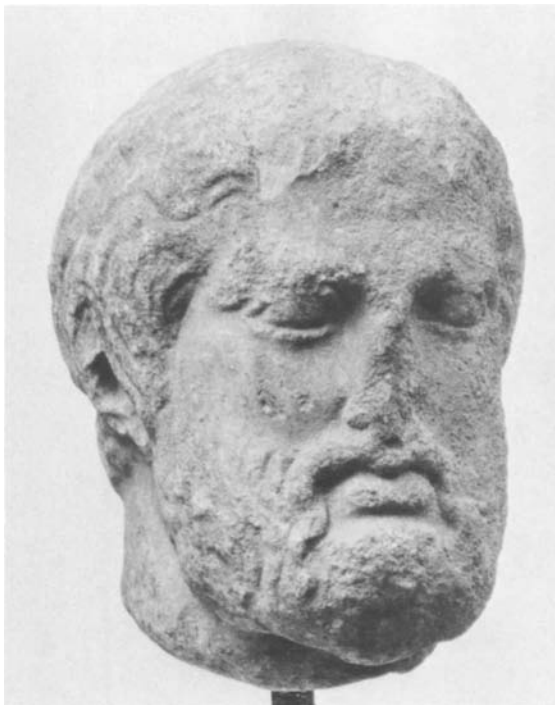


Figure 5. Three-quarter view of Fig. 2.



Figure 6. Back of Fig. 2.



Figure 7. The de Bry head: Achilles from the east pediment of the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea. By Skopas. Malibu.

3. THE DE BRY HEAD: ACHILLES BY SKOPAS
79.AA.7

Doliana marble, H: ca. 18.5 cm.

An unexpected acquisition was realized in early 1979; a head from the west pediment of the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea. It was presented personally by the owner, M. de Bry, whose name it appropriately retains.

There is no doubt that the piece belongs to the sculpture of Tegea. The marble, granulated, bluish and heavy, is surely Doliana. This was possible to establish by direct comparison with a small battered head lent to the museum by Dr. and Mrs. Tassoulis whose families came to Southern California from Tegea (Fig. 8).¹

Professor Chamoux was the first to recognize the importance of the de Bry head and its appurtenance to the east pediment of the temple of Athena.² The interpretation presented here differs slightly from his views.

The head was carved to be viewed from three quarters left with the face tilted back and the eyes gazing upwards. The position is confirmed by the tensions of the muscles in the neck, by the workmanship, and also by the preservation. The left side is considerably more damaged due to exposure (including the loss of part of the chin), but it still exhibits much fine modeling. The back of the head was treated rather cursorily in the parts which were not visible. Several damaged areas, perhaps caused by a fall from the pediment, were restored in antiquity.³ A chip on the lower left eyelid was flattened; the drawing of the circular applique on the helmet, the strands of hair emerging under it, and the helix of the left ear were slightly recut. Both nostrils were retouched and lost a little of their original thickness (the left one slightly more). The most extensive repair was to the upper lip where only the right corner preserves the original surface. The mouth, always open, now shows the upper teeth to their full height, the curve of the retouched upper lip is stiff and without elegance, and the lower half of the lower lip lost some of its volume during this campaign. These repairs, done with competence but without artistic sensitivity, probably were done at the same time as the cavity carved into the bottom of the head/neck to fix it on the body. Andrew Stewart informs me that traces of comparable ancient mounting procedures exist elsewhere in pedimental sculpture in Tegea; it seems, however, that this cavity was cut in after the neck was broken.

The date of the repair may be established by taking into account the larger context of the restorations in the Tegean sanctuary both for sculpture and architecture. It may be remembered that the restoration of another Peloponnesian sanctuary, Artemis Despoina in Lykospura,



Figure 8. The Tassoulis head.

was done under Hadrian. This must be the real meaning of the data resulting from the new trial excavation where Hadrian's coin was found.⁴ S. Karouzou aptly distinguished the original figures decorating the arm of the throne from the Hadrianic replacements.⁵

The outstanding artistic quality of the de Bry head is overwhelming in comparison to the other Tegean sculptures. The closest analogy, a head with an identical helmet and belonging to the same group of warriors, is of much inferior execution.⁶ The subtle and rich modeling of the de Bry head is reduced in the other to a rather uniform surface. Two inevitable conclusions seem to result from these observations. While it is generally accepted that Skopas designed both the architecture of the temple and its sculptural decoration, the actual execution of the work is usually interpreted as the craftsmanship of his workshop. But the superior quality of the de Bry head must be the work of Skopas' own hand. The superb art of the Parian master, famous for the combination of an exquisite sensitivity of modeling with the capacity of expressing a truly heroic psyche, may be revealed directly here for the first time.

The second conclusion concerns the identification of the head. The outstanding quality of the work together with the presentation suggests that this head belongs to the main figure of the east pediment. Indeed, the pervading heroic ethos of the face fits admirably the nature of Achilles, the lion-hearted hero. The torsion of his neck

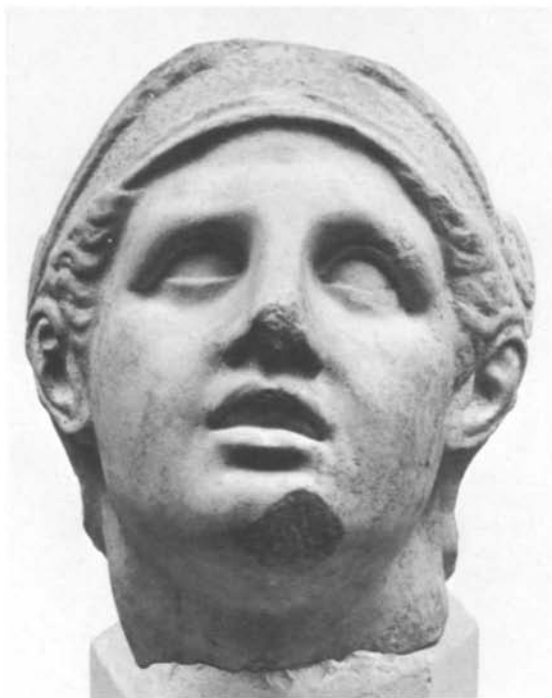


Figure 9.



Figure 10. Right three-quarter view of Fig. 7.

expresses his stance, a movement continued by his raised eyes which are gazing upwards. After having struck down Telephos, Achilles looks up to heaven and at the same time perhaps at the figure of Nike which was an akroterion crowning the east pediment.⁷

The reconstruction of the whole scene will surely be affected by the new masterpiece which provides a fresh insight into Skopas' art.⁸

1. Loan no. L76.AA.13; Doliana marble, H: 0.10 m; from a relief metope of the same temple?

2. For the summary of his lecture, see *REG* XCII, 1979, xvi ff; see also *ib.* 564. A detailed study is forthcoming in *Mon. Piot.*; mentioned in our *Checklist* 1, 1979 n. 19.

3. As Sandra Knudsen Morgan was the first to observe.

4. E. Lévy, *BCH* 91 (1967) 518 sqq.; G. Donnay, *ib.* 546 sqq.

5. Karouzou, p. 173.

6. A. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros*, 1977, 23, n. 17, pls. 14–15, 35.

7. The head was first presented in a seminar on March 1, 1979 for students of USC and UCLA with the participation of M. Michel de Bry, Professor Phyllis Lehman (who gave a lecture on Skopas at Samothrace the same evening), Dr. Mogens Gjødesen (then Visiting Scholar at the Getty Museum), Professor Andrew Stewart, and the undersigned.

8. The head of the Herakles Lansdowne is particularly close to it; but what a difference!

4. DIADOUMENOS: A HELLENISTIC VARIANT 79.AA.138

Grayish large-crystalled marble, evidently from Asia Minor, H: 0.71 m.

The head, arms, and legs below the knees are missing. There is evidence of ancient (Roman?) repairs: both legs have the remains of iron pins and rectangular channels. Channels are also carved in the shoulders to support separate arms. In the middle of the neck is an iron pin surrounded by carefully cut and polished surfaces like those which were originally on the joins of the legs and arms. Later damage, especially to the legs, has destroyed much of these smoothed surfaces. An iron pin was also used to repair the penis. The workmanship of these repairs is careful, but is work of a good technician rather than a well-trained sculptor. The chiseling of the retouched surfaces, especially at the thorax and the inguinal line was without artistic sensitivity. To the same set of ancient repairs one must also attribute the recutting of the taenia falling down over the collarbones.

Despite these later interventions, the superb quality of the original modeling is still evident on the front and is virtually intact on the back. A comparison with the Borghese Gladiator, with his precise but unoriginal treatment, shows that our "baroque" piece descends from the Pergamene tradition before the middle of the second century B.C.

The pose of this statue and its general disposition cor-



Figure 11. Right profile of Fig. 7.



Figure 12. Left profile of Fig. 7.



Figure 13. Back of Fig. 7.



Figure 14. Mounting hole in the base of Fig. 7.



Figure 16. Right profile of Fig. 15.

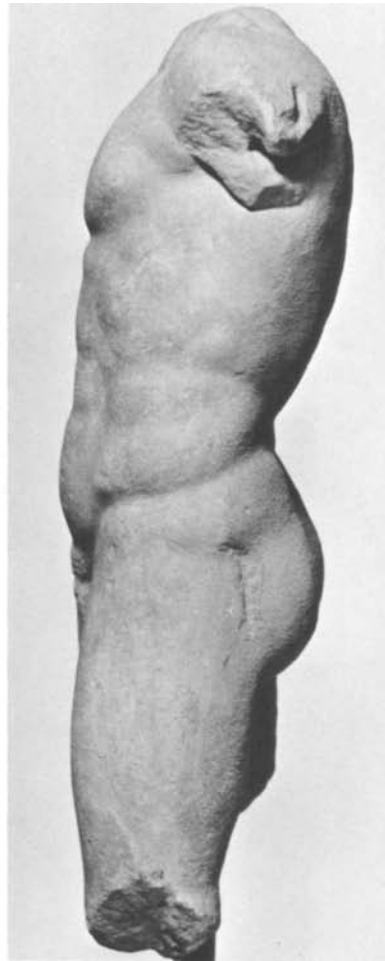


Figure 17. Left profile of Fig. 15.

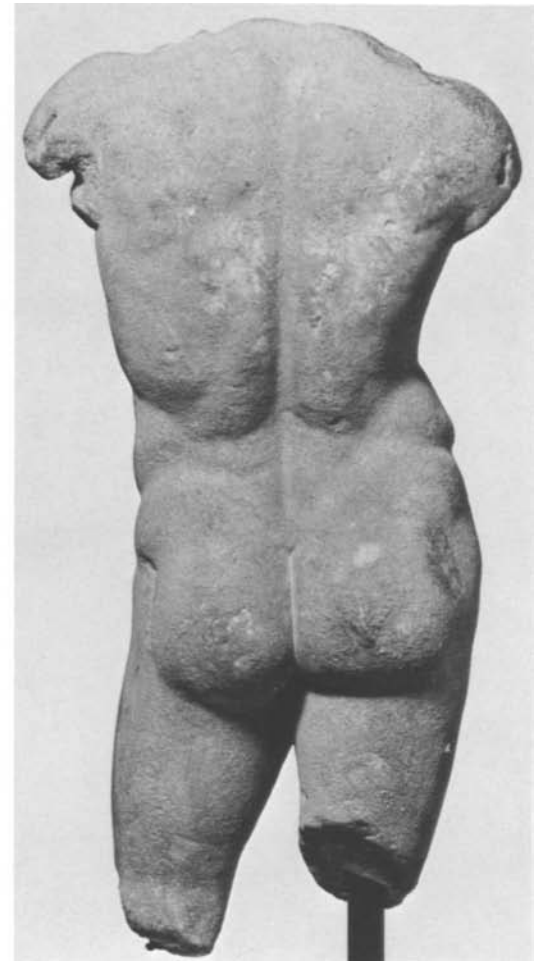


Figure 18. Back of Fig. 15.

respond perfectly to Polykleitos' *Diadoumenos*. The taenia should not be so close to the neck, but these details are clearly recut. The result is a powerful statue clearly stating a contrast between its classical stance and the lively Hellenistic modeling. The sculptor reduced the *Diadoumenos* to an appropriate size for an interior sculpture. Pre-Roman reductions of Polykleitan work are not completely unknown; the *Kyniskos* was reproduced at least twice in the fourth century¹ and here too, the much softer modeling of the late classical version changes the ethos of Polykleitos' creation from a muscular and powerful athletic hero to a more delicate ephebe.

1. The rather classicistic statue from Eleusis which was even thought to be first century neoclassical, cf. P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, 1974, 21 sqq, 17, pls. 21 etc.) and the torso of soft, "Praxitelean" modeling in Volos (H. Biezantz, *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs*, 1965, 30, 237, p. 42).



Figure 18a. Fourth century B.C. variant of Polykleitos' *Kyniskos*. Athens, National Museum. Photo: DAI, Athens.



Figure 15. Diadoumenos. Malibu.

5. BRONZE HERM

79.AA.138

Bronze, H: 104.8 cm., 25 cm. (head), 5.6 cm. (base)

The bronze herm is a replica of the piece signed by Boethos of Chalcedon found in the Mahdia shipwreck.¹ Our piece served as a prop for a statue, as evidenced by the hole in the top of the head. One eye is preserved, carved in ivory and set between thin bronze sheets cut in the shape of eyelashes. For the technical details and conservation, see an independent note by Patricia Tuttle, p. 98.

Our herm cannot compare with the artistic achievement of the Mahdia sculpture. While the Mahdia piece seems to have been lost-wax cast, ours is sand cast. The modeling is much more summary, and the cold work (the chasing, articulation of beard hair) lacks the precision of the Mahdia herm. Fuchs recent study of the Mahdia bronze points out that there must have existed other versions of the same prototype, as reflected in later terracotta miniatures.² The new features which the Getty herm offers to this type is the mounting; the two-stepped socle cast was soldered to the prism of the herm. The metal, which shows a patination of the first century A.D., could have been cast slightly earlier.

1. Now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis. W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 1963, 12ff., pls. 7-8.

2. *Ib.*, 14: "Zweit oder Drittfertig jungen müssen noch in der frühen Kaiserzeit existiert haben, als die Terrakottengruppen angefertigt wurden."

Jiří Frel



Figure 19. Head of bronze herm.



Figure 23. Top of head of Fig. 19.



Figure 20. Right profile of Fig. 19.



Figure 21. Left profile of Fig. 19.



Figure 22. Back of Fig. 19.

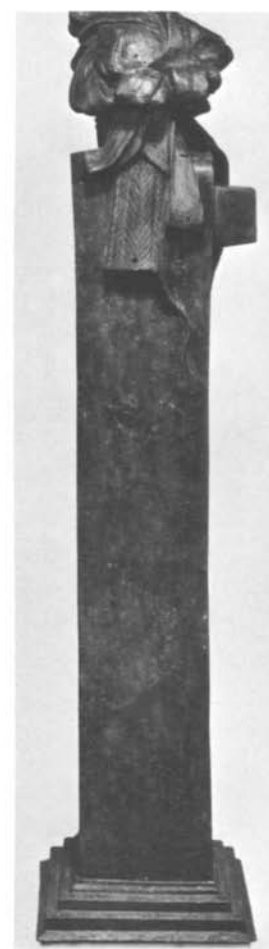
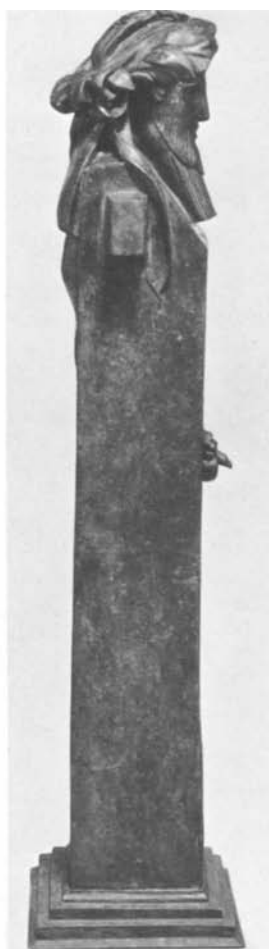
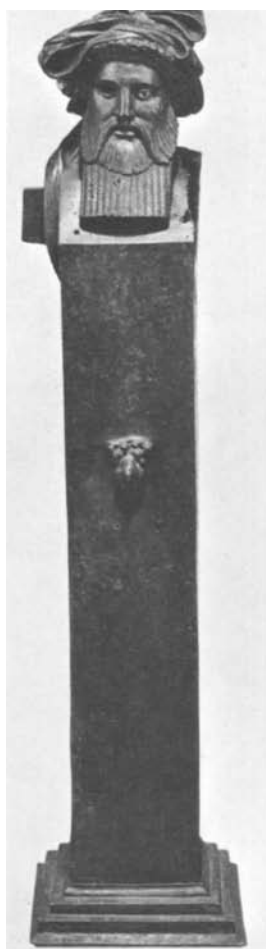


Figure 24. Bronze herm. Malibu. Figure 25. Right profile Fig. 24. Figure 26. Left profile Fig. 24. Figure 27. Back of Fig. 24.

Conservation Report on the Bronze Herm

DESCRIPTION

The herm is uniformly patinated with copper corrosion products, primarily malachite and azurite, on both the exterior and interior surfaces. There is some minor pitting caused by paratacamite, but in general the metal is in good condition. There is a crack in the lower right side which is evidently ancient as the edges are covered with corrosion products. Part of an ancient lead patch (Fig. 1) survives on the inside behind the cracked area. Other areas of the bronze were also repaired in antiquity, and these chapelets are in good condition. There are remnants of sprues and vents left inside the body of the herm. One eye remains (Fig. 2), made of bone or ivory with copper eyelashes: the pupil is missing.

TREATMENT

The bronze was cleaned mechanically with scalpel and air abrasion to remove dirt and unwanted corrosion products. Tests for chlorides showed positive results, so all visible bronze disease was removed from the exterior and interior surfaces and the bronze was then treated with a 4% solution of benzotriazole in ethanol under a vacuum. The ivory eye was consolidated with a 5% solution of B72 in toluene. The bronze was coated with Incralac, a combination of acrylic resin and benzotriazole with microcrystalline wax, to reduce the shiny appearance.

Patricia Tuttle
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

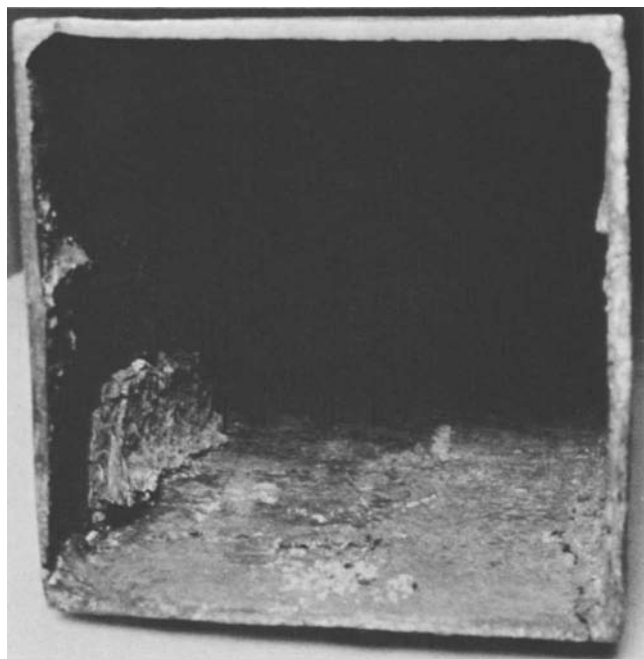


Figure 1. Detail of base of bronze herm, showing ancient lead patch.



Figure 2. Detail of inserted ivory eye of herm.

A Fragment of an Attic Grave Stele in the Getty Museum

In 1973 the J. Paul Getty Museum purchased a small fragment of a fourth century B.C. Attic grave stele¹ (Fig. 1). The upper right central portion of the relief remains. To the viewer's left is preserved the veiled head of a woman in full frontal view. To the right facing the woman in three-quarter view is the head of a maidservant wearing a sakkos. Above the heads, part of the epistyle remains with the letters ΩΛ visible. Part of the framing pilaster appears at the right somewhat overlapped by the servant's head. The marble is pentelic; the preserved height is 25.5 cm., and the preserved width is 37.0 cm. The slab is 2.3 cm. thick.

Frequently the inner portions of faces on Attic grave stelai are incompletely carved because these areas would not ordinarily be seen by the viewer.² On the Getty relief, the right half of the maidservant's face is summarily executed (Fig. 2).³ Only the beginning of the girl's right brow is discernible; the eye is not carved out. Her right nostril is incomplete, and the right half of the girl's mouth is barely rendered. Further inspection reveals a deep groove running up the inner edge of the servant's face. The drill was used to incise the groove or "outline" as was the common

method for emphasizing the separation of the cheek from the background plane.⁴ The drill was also used to chip away the marble between the top of the maid's head and the projecting epistyle. Evidence of this tool can be seen in the two small holes just under the epistyle where the overhang connects with the servant's head.⁵ Also note the groove on the maid's forehead which was marked out to accent the separation between the cloth headdress and her forehead. The most noticeable toolmarks appearing on the frontally posed head of the veiled woman are those of the flat and claw chisel which create a rather loose, ill-defined hairstyle. The uncarved mass of hair at the top of her head merges with the epistyle.⁶

Grave reliefs of the fourth century are generally less carefully and less thoroughly finished than those produced earlier in the classical period. The Getty relief is typical of this trend given the incomplete carving of the maidservant's face. Perhaps this tendency was simply the result of shortcut methods brought on by the greatly increased demand for production of grave reliefs in the fourth century. One scholar has even proposed that this drift reflected current Aristotelian philosophy.⁷

*I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel for inviting me to publish this grave relief and for his encouragement and advice during the preparation of this article.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Adam: S. Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture* (Oxford, 1966).
 Barker: A. Barker, "Costumes of the Athenian Woman in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," *AJA* 26 (1922) 410-25.
 Binnebössel: R. Binnebössel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (1932).
 Clairmont: C. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram* (Mainz on Rhine, 1970).
 Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs I-IV* (Berlin, 1893-1922).
 Diepolder: H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, 1931).
 Frel: J. Frel, *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430-300* (Prague, 1969).
 Himmelmann-Wildschütz: N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Studien zum Ilisos-Relief* (München, 1956).
 Johansen: K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs* (Copenhagen, 1951).
 Kaloyeropoulou: A. Kaloyeropoulou, "A New Attic Grave Stele," *Del-tion* 29 (1974) 283-95.
 Karuzos: C. Karuzos, "ΤΗΛΑΥΓΕΣ ΜΝΗΜΑ: Ein attisches Grabmal im National museum, Athen," *MJb.* 20 (1969) 7-32.
 Reimann: H. Reimann, *Die Sculpturen vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in Römische*

- Zeit*, Vol. II: *Kerameikos Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen* (Berlin, 1940).
 Richter: G. M. A. Richter, *Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (1966).
 Saflund: M.-L. Saflund, *The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia*, Vol. XXVII: *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Göteborg, 1970).
 Schmaltz: B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (Berlin, 1970).

1. The J. Paul Getty Museum no. 73.AA.118. Previous bibliography: *Monnaies et Médailles. Auction Sale XIV: Classical Antiquities* (Basle, June 19, 1954) no. 3., pl. 2. Jiří Frel, *Sculpture: Greek Originals*. Vol. 1 of *Checklist of Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (May, 1979) 20, no. 75.
2. Refer to note 7. below.
3. For other examples of this phenomenon see Kaloyeropoulou 288, and figs. 6-7.
4. See also Adam 71, 114, and pls. 34c., 61a.-b.
5. *Ibid.* 60 and pl. 31a.
6. For other examples see Conze 898 pl. 168, Kaloyeropoulou, fig. 6.
7. J. Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age: The Greek World View 350-50 B.C.* (London, 1979) 29. Onians purports that the less fully finished grave stelae of the fourth century B.C. signify a rejection of the Platonic contention which has the sculptor trying to copy an "ideal" chair or figure (resulting in the fully carved reliefs of the fifth century



Figure 1. Fragment of a grave stele. Malibu.

The Getty artist's style may be characterized by his preference for long, thick, prominent noses. Also noteworthy are mouths carved into a distinctive "butterfly" shape: upper and lower lips are full with corners turned upward. The mouths are set high, very close beneath the nose, with pronounced and rounded chins below. The jawlines are rather full and heavy. Finally, the eyes are set deeply beneath sharply protruding browbones.

During the development of classical Attic grave stelai, certain rules were adhered to regarding the disposition of figures within the relief. Understanding the figural hierarchy will help in the reconstruction of the Getty fragment.

A figure identifiable by her sakkos and dress as a maid-servant,⁸ such as the right hand figure on the Getty relief, was usually relegated to a secondary position within the composition. Often the servant would be placed behind her mistress's chair or placed on the fringe of the family group against a framing pilaster (and sometimes merging with it).⁹ If the servant stands before her seated mistress, she frequently holds a small object in her arms (usually a baby or jewelry box), and although the mistress is seated, she is generally as tall or taller than the standing maidservant who is typically a young girl.¹⁰ When both lady and servant are shown standing, the latter is often

b.c.). Instead, the trend relies on the idea found in Aristotle that the success of artistic imitation is measured only by its effect on the audience or spectator. Thus, there is a tendency to leave unfinished the inner portions of faces or other parts not ordinarily seen by the observer. At first glance Onians' theory seems attractive. However, one must beware of this generalization: the penchant for leaving unfinished the unseen portions of sculpture does not first appear with Aristotelian thought in the

fourth century. On the fifth century Temple of Zeus at Olympia, many of the pedimental figures have only a rough finish on backs and sides which would not be seen by the viewer: See Saflund 79 and fig. 30., 86 fig. 41.

8. See note 21 below.

9. Conze 284 pl. 66, 294 pl. 70, 337 pl. 85, 359 pl. 89, 410 pl. 97, 425 pl. 100, 465 pl. 109; Frel 230 pl. 24, 238 pl. 26; Reimann 21 pl. 4, 33 pl. 9.



Figure 2. Detail of Fig. 1.

much reduced in size and appears as a small child standing next to the deceased.¹¹ With the representation of two standing women of equal or near-equal size, the garb of the figures usually indicates that neither is a slave or servant.¹² No examples of Attic grave reliefs are known to the author which represent a standing woman with a standing servant of equal height. Therefore, the composition of the Getty fragment can be reconstructed with the veiled woman on the left seated next to her standing maidservant.

Now it must be determined to which direction the seated lady's torso was placed.¹³ If her lower torso and legs

were directed to the viewer's right, they would overlap both the servant's body and the pilaster because of the small space between the woman and the edge of the frame. There is not sufficient room to accommodate the woman's legs comfortably. Instead, the sculptor must have turned her lower torso to the viewer's left, and the maidservant would therefore be positioned behind her mistress's chair.¹⁴

The Stele of a Woman with Servant no. 1957 in the National Museum of Athens¹⁵ (Fig. 3) provides an excellent parallel for the composition of the reconstructed Getty relief. The veiled woman in the Getty fragment surely had

10. Conze 66 pl. 28, 68 pl. 30, 77 pl. 36; Diepolder 33 fig. 7, pl. 27; Frel 98 pl. 7, 198 pl. 17; Reimann 24, 28, pl. 6; Also the stele in the J. Paul Getty Museum no. 73.AA.115. See The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (4th ed., 1978) illus. p. 47.

11. Conze 871 pl. 167, 875 pl. 169, 876 pl. 167, 880 pl. 170, 882 pl. 171.

12. Conze 876 pl. 176, 901 pl. 177, 904 pl. 178.

13. The bodies of seated figures on Attic grave reliefs are never placed in full frontal pose (even if the faces are in frontal position). Occasionally votive reliefs appear with a seated and fully frontal figure represented: C. Blümel, *Katalog der Griechischen Sculpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1928) K 107, pl. 66.

14. See note 9 above for examples of this compositional type.

15. Diepolder 53 and pl. 52.2; Frel 239; S. Karouzou, *National*

her upper torso in the frontal position and legs directed to the viewer's left in a manner similar to the seated lady on National Museum no. 1957. She may also have sat on a high-backed throne.¹⁶ The parallel vertical lines of the high back of the chair, the body of the servant, and the pilaster frame of the relief provide a pleasing compositional device that would be missing had the mistress been seated on a klismos¹⁷ or a diphros.¹⁸ The seated lady on National Museum no. 1957 is wearing the typical Greek matron's garb of peplos over Ionic chiton with a himation draped over her head and shoulders. It is certain that the veiled woman of the Getty fragment wore the same.¹⁹ Her sandaled feet were probably crossed at the ankles and resting on a footstool²⁰ (see Figs. 4 and 5).

The figure of the maidservant on the Getty fragment may also be reconstructed with some certainty concerning her dress. Females wearing the cloth cap, or sakkos, like the Getty servant, and the chiton with long sleeves, like the standing girl on National Museum no. 1957, are considered to be servants and/or slaves.²¹ Undoubtedly, the Getty maidservant was dressed as the young girl in Fig. 3.

A third figure may have stood to the left of the veiled woman on the Getty relief, but this cannot at the present time be determined.²²

The figures on the Getty relief were certainly placed upon a projecting ledge within the architectural framework typical of classical grave monuments. Above their heads the horizontal cornice may have been surmounted by a triangular pediment or a rounded akroterion.²³ Again, it is impossible to determine this. Typically, an inscription with the names of the deceased and others would be carved above the relief field. The letters ΩΛ are all that remain of the inscription here.

Close observation of the veiled woman will bring to light a point of interest related to the reconstruction. One edge of the mantle hangs straight down to the woman's left shoulder. The right edge of the material, however,

curves away from her head as if she were holding the material up and out with her right hand. This gesture is a common one on Attic grave reliefs, and National Museum no. 732²⁴ (Fig. 4) furnishes an example of the complete gesture.

The motif of the woman lifting the mantle away from her head or shoulder appears on other types of sculpture and vase decoration as well.²⁵ Perhaps the deceased's "bridal journey" to Hades was inferred.²⁶ In any case, the gesture of veil-lifting as seen on grave reliefs was an entirely appropriate symbol; the woman so represented may have been a participant in an earthly marriage, and perhaps some believers hoped for the "eternal marriage" after death.

The sculptor of the Getty fragment can be associated with a workshop²⁷ which produced at least one other grave relief now in Athens. The Stele of a Woman, National Museum no. 761²⁸ (Fig. 5), is well enough preserved to analyze the details of style and to ascertain an approximate date. In doing so, a stylistic similarity between the Getty relief and no. 761 is recognized, thus making it possible to narrow a range of dates for the Getty stele.

National Museum no. 761 is broken in half on the diagonal from the upper left to the lower right corners. Preserved is a seated woman in profile facing right who is placed on a projecting ledge with her back slightly overlapping the engaged pilaster which was part of the original naiskos frame.²⁹ The woman is seated on the low, cushioned diphros,³⁰ with her feet, crossed at the ankles, resting on a footstool.³¹ She wears the usual matron's dress of Doric chiton attached at the shoulders and worn over a button-sleeved Ionic chiton, the narrow vertical folds of which can be seen hanging over her ankles. Around her shoulders is wrapped a himation with the overfold thrown across her lap creating a zig-zag arrangement of folds below her right wrist. Her left hand is in her lap, and with her right she shakes hands³² with the standing figure of a

Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture (Athens, 1968) 128–9.

16. Richter 19–23. High-backed thrones are depicted on the Attic grave reliefs throughout the fourth century. See examples in Conze: 109 pl. 40, 306 pl. 73, 410 pl. 97, 443 pl. 103, 572 pl. 114, 574 pl. 117.

17. Richter 33–37, figs. 174–177.

18. *Ibid.* 38–43, figs. 207, 208, 217.

19. Refer to examples listed above in notes 11–14. Also Barker 420–21; Kaloyeropoulou 286.

20. See below note 31.

21. Barker 419–20, and by the same author, *AJA* 28 (1924) 290–92; M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin, 1928) 46 and pls. XIV. 1–2; M. Collignon, *Les Statues Funéraires dans l'Art Grec* (Paris, 1911) 198–214. J. Thimme has offered another interpretation for the servant's long-sleeved apparel. In "Die Stele der Hegeso als Zeugnis der Attischen Grabkultes," *Antike Kunst* 7 (1964) 16–28, Thimme claims that an attendant wearing such dress need not be a servant or slave, but rather an offerant dressed

for cult at the grave of the deceased. This proposal has met with little acceptance.

22. For example, Schmaltz A49, pl. 20.

23. For the triangular pediment see Diepolder pls. 17–20, 22–23, 26–29, 39–46, 50–52. Examples of the rounded akroterion are in Diepolder pls. 3.2, 38.1, and Conze 118 pl. 42, 122 pl. 42, 124 pl. 42, 141 pl. 43, 161 pl. 50, 163 pl. 52, 240 pl. 60, 333 pl. 84, 384 pl. 95, 392 pl. 96, 409 pl. 92, 453 pl. 107, 454 pl. 108. Another possibility, less likely, would be the representation of a side view of the building with horizontal roof and tiles depicted: Diepolder pl. 38.2; Conze 254 pl. 61, 326 pl. 77, 452 pl. 103, 464 pl. 113.

24. Conze 79 pl. 36. Also 62 pl. 27, 66 pl. 28, 67 pl. 29, 78 pl. 36, 109 pl. 40, 142 pl. 43, 163 pl. 52, 161 pl. 50, 274 pl. 63, 281 pl. 63, 297 pl. 71, 304 pl. 72, 348 pl. 87, 378 pl. 93, 406 pl. 92, 517 pl. 113, 718 pl. 141, 803 pl. 150, 804 pl. 151, 876 pl. 167.

25. Among the most famous examples of this type are the Hera from



Figure 3. Stele of a woman with servant. Athens, National Museum 1957.



Figure 4. Attic grave stele. Athens, National Museum 732.

the East frieze of the Parthenon and the same goddess on the metope from the Temple E in Selinus (see A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*. Vol. 3.2, Cambridge, 1940, 1038 fig. 834.) The gesture probably signified the divine bride revealing herself to the bridegroom. From the large number of examples in various media, it is clear that this motif identified a woman as prospective bride or matron. For example, a bronze cista in Providence illustrates Hermes leading a young woman with uplifted veil to her bridegroom. (See Saflund 107 and fig. 75.) The Krater with Peleus and Thetis from Spina also depicts the raised veil. (See *ibid.* 118 and figs. 81a-b. The author provides a number of examples of the veil-lifting including her own Figure "K" from the East pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. See Saflund figs. 68, 69, 72, 73.) These scenes portray the bridal preparations or the nuptial journey. On Attic grave reliefs the motif may have been utilized as a "stock" gesture to indicate the woman represented as married.

26. W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (Berlin, 1960) 203, 205, 276, 460; Refer to Saflund 107 and Diepolder 45.

27. For further information on sculpture workshops in Classical At-

tica, see Jiří Frel, *Les Sculpteurs attiques anonymes* (Prague, 1969) and Dr. Frel's numerous articles on this subject including: "Quelques Sculpteurs Attiques au Musée du Louvre," *RA* (1968 pt. 1) 155-60; "Deux Sculpteurs Attiques Mineurs," *Deltion* 25 (1970) 1-4; "An Attic Grave Stele with Epigram," *GRBS* XIV (1973) 173-77; "The Telemachos Workshop," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* II (1975) 15-17.

28. Conze 334 pl. 83. I would like to thank Dr. Nicolas Yalouris, Director of the National Museum in Athens, for allowing me to study this stele and many others from the storerooms of that museum when I was in Athens on a University of Chicago Ryerson Travel Grant in 1975-76.

29. See above note 23.

30. Above note 18.

31. Richter 49-52, figs. 175, 407; Diepolder pls. 19, 20, 22, 26-27, 40, 42.1, 44-47, 51.1.

32. The symbolism of the handshake has been subject to many interpretations. For a convenient summary of past scholarship on this topic see Johansen 53-64.

woman, now missing.³³ The vertical folds of the missing woman's chiton can be seen at the foot of the seated woman, and the diagonal hem of the standing woman's himation is visible above the seated lady's foot.

National Museum no. 761 is closest in style and date to decree and treaty reliefs produced c. 360 B.C. In comparing the faces on the Getty relief with the face of the woman on no. 761, (Fig. 6.), a connection between the two pieces of sculpture becomes apparent. Although the two reliefs were certainly not carved by the same hand, they were probably executed by sculptors associated with the same workshop.³⁴ All faces have long, thick noses. The eyes are set deeply beneath sharp browbones. Mouths are placed high on the face, closely beneath the nose. Lips are butterfly shaped and turned up at the corners; below are rounded chins. Jawlines are quite full and heavy, almost puffy in appearance. Both the veiled woman on the Getty fragment and the woman on no. 761 wear hair in loose, indistinct waves framing the face and high, wide forehead.

With the help of this comparison, it is now possible to narrow a range of dates for the Getty fragment between c. 360 and Demetrios of Phaleron's anti-luxury law of sometime between 317–310 B.C.³⁵ As will be explained below, the "confrontational" character of the Getty fragment, that is, the fully frontal gaze of the main figure, suggests that the relief was carved no earlier than mid-century, and probably well into the third-quarter of the fourth century.

National Museum no. 1957 (Fig. 3) was presented as an example of how the reconstructed Getty fragment would look. That relief, as well as the Stele of Demetria and Pamphile in the Kerameikos,³⁶ and the Stele of Hagnistrate,³⁷ also in Athens, have been related to one another by Diepolder. He places them with the very last of the grave reliefs produced in the fourth century, near the termination date. National Museum no. 732 (Fig. 4) must also belong in this company. These late stelai are characterized by their tendency to incorporate rather lifeless figures which stand or sit within their frame and neither look at nor converse with one another. The faces are expressionless,

and they stare outward beyond the viewer. The whole effect is typically cold, stiff, and formal, yet the carving technique is proficient.³⁸

Despite the fact that the Getty relief has a similar composition to National Museum no. 1957, the two stelai are not contemporary in date. Although the veiled woman on the Getty fragment stares out of the relief field into the viewer's space, as do the figures in the stelai mentioned above, it is instead the attitude of the Getty maidservant which must affect our opinion concerning the date of this sculpture.

Diepolder speaks of a new subjective mood appearing in the grave reliefs dating from c. 340–330 B.C.³⁹ These sculptures exhibit a new expressive and emotional content; figures gaze at each other with a poignant, non-verbal communication that is the focal point of the composition rather than the handshake which figures so prominently on other grave reliefs.⁴⁰ The focal point of our reconstructed relief is on the head of the veiled woman with detached gaze and on her young maidservant who stares with keen intensity at the visage of her departed mistress.

This compositional device reminds one, in a modest way, of the renowned Ilissos Stele of c. 330 B.C. This compositional type is repeated on the Getty fragment: a frontally positioned figure representing the deceased accompanied by a watchful attendant. The sculptors of both reliefs sought to heighten, or dramatize with vivid glance and psychological separation, the somber mood of these grave monuments. The factor which sets the Getty relief apart from many and leads one to prescribe a date late in the third-quarter of the fourth century is a particular arrangement: the pairing of a main figure in distinctly hieratic frontal pose with a secondary figure in approximate three-quarter view who focuses his or her attention on the departed.⁴¹ This compositional device became popular with the arrival of the Ilissos Stele. Thus, based on its compositional style, the Getty fragment must date to approximately 330 B.C., or shortly after the Ilissos Stele.

With the date of the Getty relief established, its relation-

33. Conze states that a third figure stood between the seated and standing women on no. 761. On examination of this stele I could find no trace of this figure. Conze illustrates a number of stelae with similar two or three figure compositions: 145 pl. 44, 151 pl. 45, 156 pl. 47, 161 pl. 50, 163, pl. 52, 207 pl. 55, 236 pl. 58, 322 pl. 80, 327 pl. 81, 329 pl. 82, 444 pl. 103, 452 pl. 103, 454 pl. 108.

34. Undoubtedly, Attic workshops producing the grave reliefs were organized under the direction of a master craftsman. If he had a large enough clientele, one or more stonemasons or apprentices could be in his employ. Refer to Kaloyeropoulou 287, and research by Frel cited above, note 27.

35. Cicero, *De Legibus* II.26.64–66; J. Kirchner, "Das Gesetz von Demetrios von Phaleron zur Einschränkung des Graberluxus," *Die Antike* 15 (1939) 93–98; S. Dow and A. H. Travis, "Demetrios of Phaleron

and his Lawgiving," *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 144–65; F. Eckstein, "Die Attischen Grabmalergesetze," *JDAI* 73 (1958) 18–29. J. R. A. Twele, "Columellam . . . Aut Mensam . . . Aut Labellum: Archaeological Remarks on Cicero's *De Legibus* II.66," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* II (1975) 93–98.

36. Conze 109 pl. 40; Diepolder pl. 51.1.

37. Athens, National Museum no. 1863. Diepolder pl. 52.1; Frel 368.

38. Diepolder 53.

39. *Ibid.* 50–52. Representing this trend are three sculptures in Athens: the Stele of the Grand Farewell (see Athens, National Museum no. 870; Conze 320 pl. 78; Diepolder pl. 47; Frel 293), the Ilissos Stele (see Athens, National Museum no. 869; Conze 320 pl. 78, Diepolder pl. 47; Frel 294), and the Stele of a Warrior from Salamis (see Conze 1058 pl. 212; Diepolder pl. 49.1).



Figure 5. Attic grave stele of a woman. Athens, National Museum 761.



Figure 6. Detail of Fig. 5.

ship to the workshop of National Museum no. 761 may be determined. Although close in figural style to the Athens stele, the Getty fragment cannot be its contemporary. It has been concluded that no. 761 was carved about thirty years earlier. The sculptor of the Getty relief could have been an apprentice in the workshop that produced the

Athens stele, or a sculptor working in a studio which was an extension of the earlier workshop.⁴²

The Getty fragment appears to embody the very qualities that Himmelmann-Wildschütz saw as typical of the trend towards heroization of the deceased in the late fourth century.⁴³ However, one must not assume, as Him-

40. Diepolder 50.

41. Other grave reliefs representing a frontally posed main figure with a secondary figure in approximate three-quarter view are: Conze 96 pl. 38, and a stele published by D. M. Robinson, "Two New Grave Stelae from the Deme of Demosthenes," *AJA* 51 (1947) 366–69 pl. 89. A stele in the Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum no. 66.64 is also similar to the Getty fragment in the frontality of the main figure. J. Thimme in "Bilder, Inschriften und Opfer an Attischen Gräbern," *AA* (1967) 199–213, dates the relief to c. 360 B.C. This is too early. Certainly it is closer in time to the Getty relief and the Marathon stele published by A. Kaloyeropoulou (*supra* note 2.). The hieratic frontality of the main figure, the heavy, fleshy forms, and especially the thick, opaque drapery which falls in spongy folds across the lap of the seated woman are akin to the style of the Marathon relief dated by Mrs. Kaloyeropoulou to c. 330 B.C.

42. The workshop of National Museum no. 761 was a large one. At least a half dozen grave reliefs can be associated with it. This group will be discussed in a future publication.

43. Nicolas Himmelmann-Wildschütz wrote that the deceased persons on Attic grave stelai can be identified by their separation, both physical and mental, from the other people depicted on the relief. On way of producing this quality of detachment is by having the gaze of the attendant figures fixed on the deceased. The deceased, however, does not return their gaze but focuses on a point in the distance. Accordingly, the isolation and separation of the dead emphasizes their "heroic" stature. By the second half of the fourth century the Attic stelai portray the "Verklärung" of "heroic glorification" of the departed person. Stelai of this period are marked by the complete isolation of the deceased person from those in attendance, and by the fact that this person is often from-

Himmelman-Wildschütz would, that the deceased woman of the Getty fragment is thus “heroized” because of her distant gaze and her isolation from those around her. Although she raises her veil in the “Hera gesture,” and may have sat in a high-backed throne, one must not automatically infer that in death she has attained the stature of “heroine” or semi-divinity. The concept of heroization and whether it applies to the deceased figures represented on Classical Attic grave reliefs has been widely debated.⁴⁴ Perhaps the dead as represented on these grave reliefs should be referred to as “heroicized” rather than “heroized.”

The Getty fragment provides us with a brief, intriguing glimpse into the world of Attic funerary art. The relief can be reconstructed with a seated woman and a standing maidservant. It was produced c. 330 B.C. during the period in which a number of grave stelae were carved exhibiting a marked degree of frontality and expressive content. However, the Getty sculptor was trained in, or an extension of, an earlier mid-century workshop. On the Getty relief we do not see the glorious configuration of the heroized deceased but a modest and sensitive tribute to a mourned woman.

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tally placed and almost completely freestanding. For Himmelman-Wildschütz the prime example of this phenomenon is the Ilissos relief, and he lists a number of other stelai as well in the attempt to prove his hypothesis (Himmelman-Wildschütz 11ff.).

44. Many scholars rightly caution us against too general usage of this term. Karuzos warned us against attaching such ideas to works of art conceived without these philosophical designs (see Karuzos 21–24). In fact, there was no unity of thought among the ancient Greeks on exactly what happened to a person after death. Nor is there enough uniformity of type among the late Classical gravestones to prove Himmelman-Wildschütz’s thesis. Specifically, of the several thousand Attic grave reliefs in existence—both stelai and marble vases—there are many for which his system of identifying the deceased does not work. (This is also pointed out by Eve Harrison in her review of Himmelman-Wildschütz’s book in *AJA* 63, 1959. 209–9.) Until more is known about the Greek concept of death and the afterlife, one should be wary of the notion that the dead as represented on the Attic reliefs in general, and the Getty relief in particular, are “heroes” identifiable by their “Verklärung.” In his cogent essay on the meaning of the Attic grave reliefs, K. Friss Johansen promotes the notion that these monuments stress the union symbolized by the oft-seen

handshake, between the deceased and their survivors. Exact identification of the dead person is not necessary, and often impossible given the nature of some inscriptions. Rather, we are confronted with idealized visualizations of the departed. The deceased have an “august” nature and live a “new and higher” existence (see Johansen 149ff.). As Aristotle so claimed, the dead are “better and mightier” (βελτίονες καὶ κρείττονες) than the living (see Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 27 in *Moralia* II in quoting Aristotle’s *Eudemos*). Perhaps it would be more prudent to propose that the survivors revered those who had passed before them, and sought to decorate the tomb of a relative or friend with a fitting tribute. As the philosophers noted, the dead were thought to exist on a higher plane, and to emphasize this, the sculptors would use the traditional means available to them in order to commemorate one’s passing. Such means would include the greater size, isolation, and frontality of the main figure, and the utilization of iconographical motifs usually associated with divinities, such as the high-backed throne. By using these devices the Getty sculptor, and scores of other artisans as well, could emphasize the figures of the deceased and suggest something of their “august” nature if such was the desire of those who commissioned the monuments.

A New Portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes (?)

One of the first ancient sculptures purchased by the Smith College Museum of Art was a youthful male head acquired in 1925 (Figs. 1–6).¹ Carved of marble with eyes inserted in another material, its short hair was once bound by a separately attached, doubtless bronze fillet or diadem, as a shallow cutting in the locks attests. The locks themselves are cursorily rendered. Seen in left profile, it is characterized by a slightly indented brow, a deep-set eye, a smoothly modelled cheek and large, shapely ear, by a firm mouth, somewhat bevelled chin, and a marked Adam's apple. Little remains of the nose and small damages appear in the cheek, the neck, and the ear and, especially, above the eyes and in the hair. The right side of the skull has been sheared away, removing a portion of the right forehead and the entire right ear. The neck is irregularly broken but chips, irregular projections, and an oblique cutting at the left side and back imply the original presence of a garment and the further implication that the head may once have belonged to a statue. Finally, the right eye socket is larger than the left implying that the head (and statue) must have been seen obliquely in three-quarter view (cf. Figs. 2, 6).

Until recently, this head had only been published in two brief notices in the first *Bulletin* and a later *Catalogue* of the Smith College Museum of Art.² It was automatically assumed that it represented a victorious athlete and

that it was an original marble of the fourth century B.C., probably dating in the last quarter of the century.

Very likely, this head is an original dating from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century B.C. But the cursory and sketchy rendering of the hair and the technique of inserted eyes indicate that it was doubtless a marble copy of a lost bronze original.³ What is more, seen either frontally or in three-quarter view (Figs. 2, 6), the proportions of the face, especially the rough triangle created by the broad cheekbones and the cheeks that slope directly to the chin, suggest that this is not the head of an athlete but the portrait of an individual, and, given the original presence of a diadem, of a Hellenistic ruler.⁴

Granting the fact that any attempt to identify a portrait on the basis of numismatic portraits is fraught with difficulties and that one can seldom absolutely prove a proposed identification, nonetheless, such comparisons offer the only valid methodological approach to such a problem. Among the coins struck by Demetrios Poliorketes, the first European ruler bold enough to place his own portrait on his coins,⁵ there are obverse types that show a marked relationship to the profile view of the Smith head (Fig. 1). A stater (Fig. 7) and, to a lesser extent, a tetradrachm (Fig. 8), both in the British Museum in London, reflect the same features.⁶ The same deep-set eye with a slight swelling over the outer corner of the eye, the same

1. Acc. No. 25:8–1. Ht. 0.267 m., 10½ inches. Upper left lip and three gashes in the left cheek, jaw and neck restored (cf. Figs. 1, 6). Entire surface lightly speckled by patina. Provenance unknown. Purchased from Joseph Brummer.

2. Sidney N. Deane, "Head of a Greek Athlete," *Bulletin of Smith College, Museum of Art*, 1 (1927), pp. 1–3; *Smith College Museum of Art, Catalogue*, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1937, pp. 30, 109.

3. The Daochos Group in Delphi, a contemporary marble group reflecting Lysippos' bronze group in Pharsalos offers an obvious analogy. For this group see, in particular, Tobias Dohrn, "Die Marmor-Standardbilder des Daochos-Weihgeschenks in Delphi," *Antike Plastik*, VIII, 1968, pp. 33–53.

4. This element of Persian dress, originally worn around the Great King's tiara, was adopted by Alexander and worn by his successors as a symbol of royal power. See the detailed study of Hans-Werner Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft, Vestigia*, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, 7 (1965), pp. 3 ff., 125 ff. Diadems, as reflected on coins, may be flat and wide or rounded. See, for example, G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins*, New York, 1972, Nos. 554, 553. The Smith head evidently wore the

rounded variety. Both types were normally knotted at the back of the head and longish ends fluttered from the knot.

The first scholar to have remarked, in print, on the presence of a diadem on the Smith head and the implications regarding its identity was Jifi Frel, *The Getty Bronze*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1978, p. 24.

5. See Edward T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrios Poliorketes*, London, 1927, p. 87, and Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 218. Slightly earlier, in 305 B.C., when Ptolemy I Soter assumed the royal title in Egypt, he, too, placed his portrait on gold coins. (*Ibid.*, p. 235, and Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 87; *idem*, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, New York, 1937, p. 30).

6. The stater: Obv. Diademed and horned head of Demetrios Poliorketes to right; Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ below. Horseman right (presumably the King on horseback). Beneath horse, monogram of chief magistrate. Mint of Pella, 288–283 B.C. (Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 215, nos. 518, 519).

The tetradrachm: Obv. Diademed and horned head of Demetrios Poliorketes to right in circle of dots. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on right, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on left. Poseidon standing to left with trident in left hand; right arm on right thigh and bent right leg resting on rock. On left, out-



Figure 1. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art. Male head (left profile).

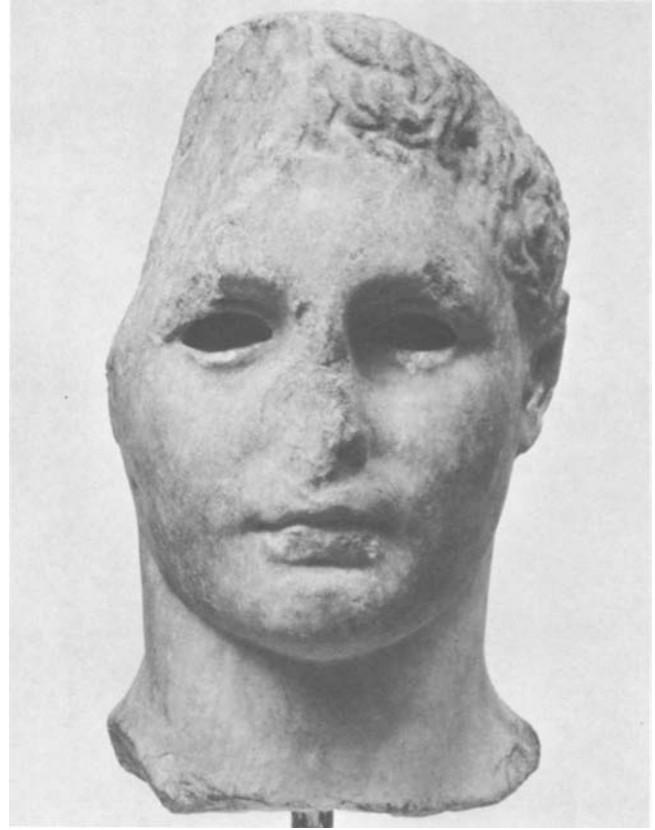


Figure 2. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art. Male head (front view).

shape of brow and ear, the same short, upper lip and form of mouth, the same gently rounded cheek, oblique line of the chin, and noticeable Adam's apple, the same short, curly hair—if one allows for the cursory rendering of a bronze original in the marble head—are common to both the numismatic images and the sculptured head.

Demetrios struck no coins in his own name until he became the sole ruler of Macedonia in 301 B.C., after the death of his father Antigonos Gonatos in the Battle of Ipsos.⁷ But ever since his great naval victory over Ptolemy Soter at Salamis in Cyprus in 306 B.C. both Antigonos and Demetrios had been hailed as kings and wore the royal diadem.⁸

Both the stater and the tetradrachm were minted in the Macedonian capital at Pella, the stater issued from 288 to 283 B.C., the tetradrachm in 289–288 B.C. when Demetrios

Poliorketes was a man of forty-seven or eight. Even when he first assumed the diadem, he was thirty. But these numismatic portraits, like many other coins struck by Demetrios, depict him as a young man. Edward T. Newell has pointed out that the specific date of an issue may not reflect Demetrios' actual age or appearance in a given year.⁹ His beauty was almost legendary. Plutarch reports that:

he had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him. They had at once grace and strength, dignity and beauty, and there was blended with their youthful eagerness a certain heroic look and a kingly majesty that were hard to imitate.¹⁰

Diodorus states:

Moreover, he was outstanding both in beauty and in

side inscription, magistrate's monogram. Mint of Pella, 289–288 B.C. (Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 97, pl. VIII, 10).

7. *Ibid.*, p. 166. Newell, pp. 65 ff., 71 f., has pointed out that the first coins that show Demetrios' portrait were minted in Ephesos (301–295 B.C.), an area of the Greek world in which true portraits of earlier Persian dynasts and dignitaries had already appeared on coins, and which may have provided the tradition of portrait-coins adopted by the die-cutter

for Demetrios' portraits.

8. Diodorus 20.53.2; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 18.1. See, too, Ritter, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–91.

9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 84 f. See, too, p. 71 f.

10. *Demetrius* 2.2; English translation quoted from Bernadotte Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*, Loeb edn., Cambridge-London, 1968, IX, p. 7.



Figure 3. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art.
Male head (three-quarter view).



Figure 4. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art.
Male head (right profile).



Figure 5. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art.
Male head (rear view).

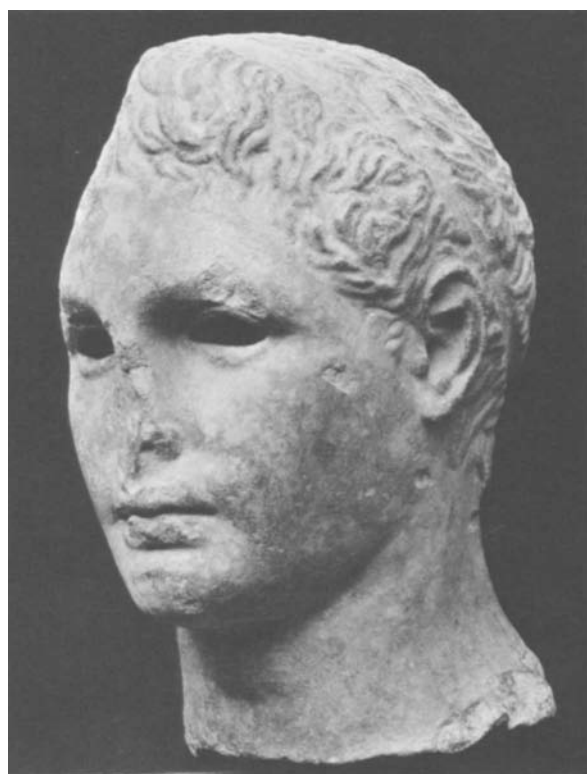


Figure 6. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art.
Male head (three-quarter view).



Figure 7. London, British Museum. Obverse of a stater of Demetrios Poliorketes. Photo Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 8. London, British Museum. Obverse of a tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes. Photo Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 9. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Marble herm of Demetrios Poliorketes (right profile). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.

stature, and also when clad in royal armour he had great distinction and struck men with awe, whereby he created great expectations in the multitude. Furthermore, there was in him a certain gentleness becoming to a youthful king, which won for him the devotion of all, so that even those outside the ranks ran together to hear him, feeling sympathetic anxiety on account of his youth and the critical struggle that impended.¹¹

Diodorus' statement refers to the spring of 312 B.C., when Demetrios was given sole command of the army in the battle fought near Gaza against the experienced generals Ptolemy and Seleukos, when he was, himself, only twenty-four.

The stater (Fig. 7), struck in the eighties, when Demetrios was in his late forties, surely evokes "a youthful king," and if the Smith head is, indeed, a portrait of

Demetrios Poliorketes, its youth is evident. In certain of his portraits, therefore, Demetrios and the artists he employed must have harked back to the days of his youthful beauty.

On the basis of numismatic portraits, a number of marble heads have been proposed as portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes.¹² Only one, I believe, merits this interpretation: a marble herm from the Villa of the Pisoni at Herculaneum today in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (Figs. 9–12).¹³ The profile view (Fig. 9) is closely related especially to the tetradrachm (Fig. 8). All the familiar features of hair, brow, eye, shape of face, mouth, chin, marked Adam's apple recur, and, fortunately, the unbroken original nose provides a welcome additional analogy. Again, the head is diademed, and again the bull's horns emerging from the forelocks attest Demetrios' devotion to Diony-

11. 19.81.4; English translation quoted from Russel M. Geer, *Diodorus of Sicily*, Loeb edn., Cambridge-London, 1962, X, p. 57. Cf., too, Diodorus 20.92.3.

12. Alan J. B. Wace, "Hellenistic Royal Portraits," *JHS*, 25 (1905), pp. 86 ff.; and, especially, Charles Picard, "Teisikrates de Sicyone et l'iconographie de Démétrios Poliorkètes," *RA*, ser. 6, 22 (1944), pp. 5–37, and *idem*, "Le Démétrios Poliorkètes du Dokécatheon délien," *Monuments Piot*, 41 (1946), pp. 73 ff.

13. A. Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, 2nd

edn., Naples, 1911, Vol. I, p. 273, No. 1146, Inv. No. 6149. Ht. 0.435 m.; H. Brunn, P. Arndt, F. Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, Munich, 1891–1942, Nos. 353, 354; Wace, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.; L. Laurenzi, *Ritratti greci* (Quaderni per lo studio dell' archeologia, 3–5), Florence, 1941, No. 50, pl. XVIII; Picard, *RA*, pp. 24 ff., including earlier bibliography; Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Statues on Coins of Southern Italy and Sicily in the Classical Period*, New York, 1946, pp. 31f., n. 13; Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, London, 1965, III, p. 256, figs. 1741, 1742.

Dated by Arndt, *loc. cit.*, as an Augustan copy of an early Hellenistic



Figure 10. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Marble herm of Demetrios Poliorketes (left profile). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.

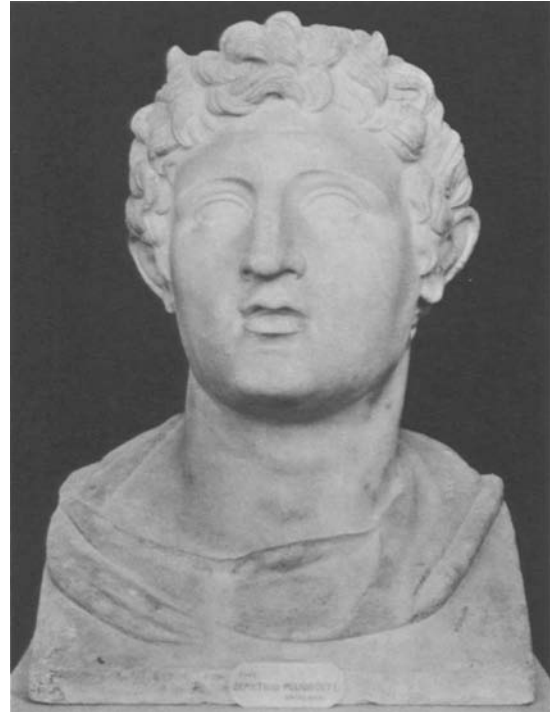


Figure 11. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Marble herm of Demetrios Poliorketes (front view). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.

sos.¹⁴ As the coin portraits of Alexander the Great struck by Lysimachos reveal the divinized hero characterized by the ram's horns of Zeus Ammon,¹⁵ so Demetrios adopted the emblem of another divinity, appearing as the New Dionysos. Comparison of the marble herm and the Smith head reveals the same identity, in particular, the shape of head, hair, and ear, the deep-set eye, and the shape of brow and mouth. If the Smith head was provided with bull's horns, they must have been attached to the diadem as they often are on the coins, including our gold stater (Fig. 7).

The herm is a partial copy of a draped full-length statue, as the presence of the upper folds of a chlamys around the neck indicates—suggesting that the irregular projecting breaks at the base of the Smith head's neck imply a similar garment.

statue (accepted by Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 3); by Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 88, in the last years of the fourth century B.C.—presumably referring to the original of which the herm is a copy.

14. See, especially, Plutarch, *Demetrius* 2.2, and Diodorus 20.92.4. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 218, mistakenly states that this “emphasizes the kinship with Poseidon.”

15. See, for example, Margarete Bieber, “The Portraits of Alexander the Great,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 93 (1949), figs. 12, 37, 41, 45.



Figure 12. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Marble herm of Demetrios Poliorketes (rear view). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.



Figure 13. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Bronze statuette of Demetrios Poliorketes. Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.



Figure 14. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Bronze statuette of Demetrios Poliorketes. Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.

Both in profile and full-face, the Smith head looks more youthful than the herm (Figs. 1, 2). It is unexpected, therefore, that the herm is characterized by a *Flaumbart*, by traces of downy hair on the cheeks, "the sparse beard of earliest manhood."¹⁶ Surely, this is a meaningful feature. When Demetrios assumed the diadem, he was thirty. This

singular emphasis on youth must imply his desire to link himself with other famous heroes like the celebrated youthful band of the Argonauts, of whom this precise feature was a part of their literary iconography.¹⁷

Long coupled with the marble herm from Herculaneum is a bronze statuette again from Herculaneum and in the

16. Valerius Flaccus 4.23. Unfortunately, this detail is barely visible in Figs. 9, 10.

17. For convenience, see Phyllis L. Williams, "Amykos and the Dioskouroi," *AJA*, 49 (1945), pp. 337–340. See, too, apropos Pelops, Pindar, *Olympic Odes*, 1, lines 67 f.

18. Ruesch, *op. cit.*, p. 366, No. 1606, Inv. No. 5026. Ht. 0.30 m. Brunn-Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, Nos. 355, 356; Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Laurenzi, *loc. cit.*; Picard, *RA*, pp. 5–22; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f., with earlier bibliography; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 256, fig. 1743. In *Statues on Coins*, *loc. cit.*, I had suggested that in choosing this statuary type, the sculptor (now, it seems Teisikrates) drew on an earlier fifth-century statuary type used for a figure of the river god Krimisos reflected on tetradrachms of Segesta.

Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, rev. edn. 1961, pp. 50 f., figs. 145–149, accepted both the herm and the statuette as reflections of portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes.

19. Picard, *RA*, *loc. cit.* See the brief statement of Jean Charbonneaux in Jean Charbonneaux, Roland Martin, François Villard, *Hellenistic Art*, New York, 1973, pp. 249 f., fig. 268, who also agreed with this attribution.

20. N.H. 34.19.67. See Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker et al., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vol. 33, Leipzig, 1939, p. 217, s.v. Tisikrates (by Margarete Bieber).

21. huius porro discipulus fuit Tisikrates, et ipse Sicyonius, sed Lysippi sectae propior, ut vix discernantur complura signa, seu . . . Demetrios rex . . .

Museo Nazionale in Naples (Figs. 13, 14).¹⁸ Charles Picard has written at length and convincingly that this statuette reflects a lost bronze statue by Teisikrates of Sikyon.¹⁹ Teisikrates, according to Pliny,²⁰ was a student of Euthykrates, a pupil and son of Lysippos. Indeed, Pliny reports that many of his statues, including his figure of King Demetrios, cannot be distinguished from Lysippos' work.²¹ The iconography of this statuette, including its bull's horns, diadem, and Macedonian costume, and its characteristically Lysippic pose,²² appear to confirm this attribution, although the coarse execution of the facial features precludes a precise repetition of the numismatic images (cf. Figs. 7, 8). Seen head on, it is related to the marble herm in generic terms (Figs. 11, 14)—the shape of the brow and the outline of the eyebrows, the set of the eyes, the proportions of the broad-cheeked, short face, the form of nose and mouth, although it in no way suggests the legendary beauty of Demetrios, while the herm, especially seen in profile, does reflect the appearance of a handsome man filled with ardor and vitality. Picard assumed that both statuette and herm reflected a lost statue of Demetrios Poliorketes by Teisikrates that had been made at Pella in 306 B.C. at the beginning of Demetrios' reign.²³

Again, the coarse execution of the facial features of the statuette makes comparison with the Smith head, a Greek original, difficult. The ears, for example, are barely discernible. Yet seen in near profile (Figs. 6, 14), the short hair and the shape of brow and face are analogous, as are the short upper lip and bevelled line of the chin, and the wide eyes of the statuette are again deep-set. Seen head-on, the shape of the brow and eyebrows, and the broad-cheeked, short faces are again, related.

If the lost bronze statue reflected in the statuette and the herm in Naples was created by Teisikrates of Sikyon whose style was indistinguishable from Lysippos', clearly the Smith head was the work of another, if unknown, master,²⁴ Characteristic of Lysippos' faces are their very regular, slightly rounded rectangular proportions, witness the Apoxyomenos, Agias, or the Getty Bronze recently

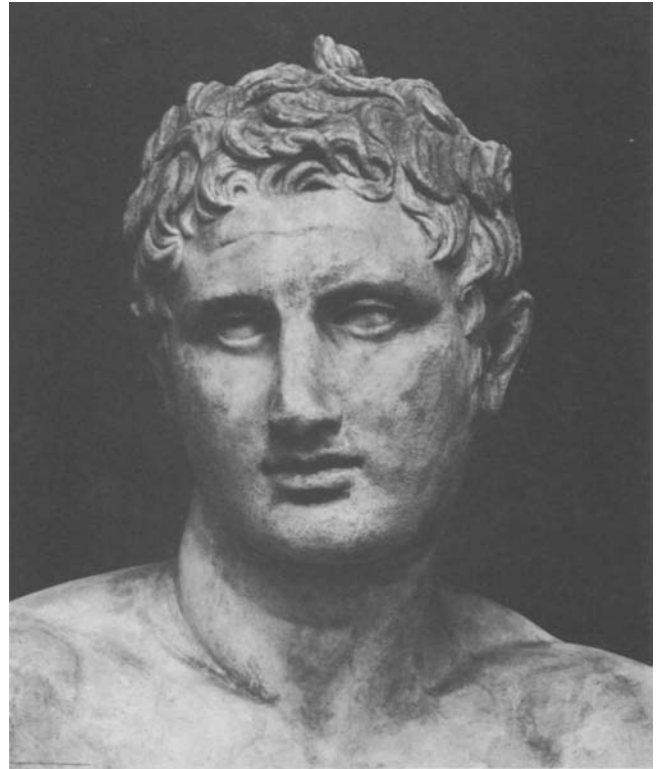


Figure 15. Vatican City, Musei Vaticani. Head of the Apoxyomenos. Photo: Anderson 5300.



Figure 16. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Head of Agias. Photo: *Antike Plastik* VIII, pl. 17.

22. See, for example, the Alexander Rondanini in Munich: Bieber, "The Portraits of Alexander the Great," Fig. 11.

23. *Op. cit.*, pp. 20, n. 2, 25. He assumed, p. 22, that the statuette was Flavian in execution. Laurenzi, *loc. cit.*, dated the archetype ca. 300 B.C. I had earlier questioned, *Statues on Coins*, pp. 31 f., n. 13, whether statuette and herm were sufficiently alike to depend on a common statuary prototype.

24. It was suggested in the *Catalogue* of the Smith College Museum of Art, *loc. cit.*, that the head showed "some influence of Lysippos." This comment must have come from Professor Sidney N. Deane who, in his previous *Bulletin*, *op. cit.*, p. 3, had noted the "influence of Scopas."

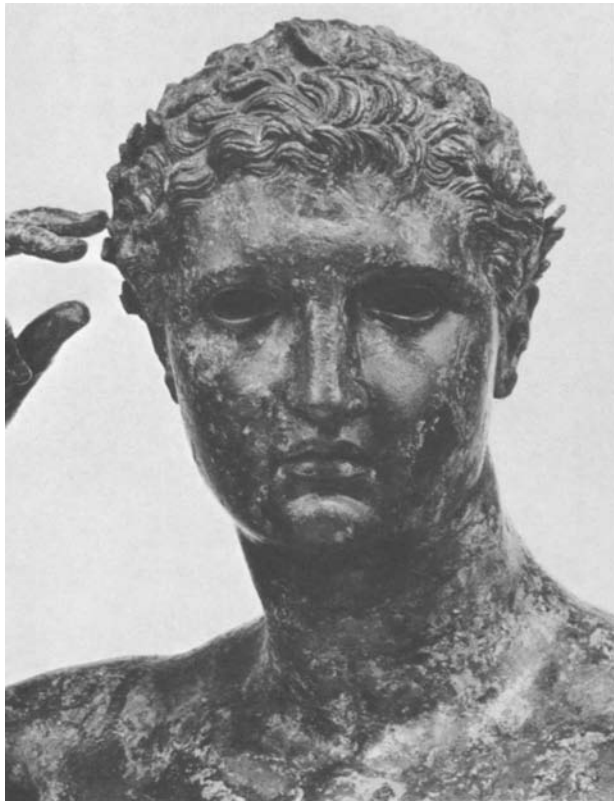


Figure 17. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Head of the Getty Bronze (front view).



Figure 18. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Head of the Getty Bronze (three-quarter view).

acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figs. 15, 16, 17).²⁵ On the contrary, as previously remarked, the face of the Smith head is marked by a more triangular proportion when seen either full-face or in three-quarter view (cf. Figs. 2, 6, 17, 18). There is less emphasis on the jowl in the Smith head than, for example, in the Getty Bronze (cf. Fig. 6, 18). It is largely this proportion that lends a certain delicacy and youthfulness to the head. To be sure, it is a portrait, but even Lysippos' Azara Herm of Alexander

(Fig. 19)²⁶ partakes of a rectangular form similar to the heads of his other statues.²⁷

There must have been innumerable portrait-statues of Demetrios Poliorketes in his life-time as there were of Alexander the Great. A few—apart from the statue by Teisikrates—are reported by Pausanias and Diodorus. Pausanias mentions both an individual statue and a group in which Demetrios figured in the Sanctuary at Olympia, and another group which included Antigonos, Demetrios,

25. See Dohrn, *loc. cit.*; A. F. Stewart, "Lysippan Studies 2," *AJA*, 82 (1978), pp. 301–313; Frel, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Therefore, Frel's comparisons of the Getty Bronze and the Smith head seen in profile and three-quarter views, figs. 20–23, do not persuade me that the two heads "represent the same person" (p. 24)—witness, in particular, the totally different shape of the cheeks and jaws. There is, therefore, no indication that the Smith head was a "portrait of a prince-athlete" (p. 47) rather than a portrait of a Diadoch. Frel retained this position in his *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum, A Checklist, Sculpture, I. Greek Originals*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1979, p. 12, No. 50.

26. See, Bieber, "The Portraits of Alexander the Great," fig. 15, or Frel, *op. cit.*, p. 35, fig. 9.

27. I do not enter into the complicated question of the degree to which Lysippos' generic figures actually reflect the appearance of a specific model.

The youthful hunter to the left of Abdalonymos, King of Sidon, for whom the so-called Alexander sarcophagus was made, bears a marked

relationship to the Smith head. Indeed, it has been suggested by Jean Charbonneau, "Antigone le Borgne et Démétrios Poliorkète sont-ils figurés sur le sarcophage d'Alexandre?" *La revue des arts*, 2 (1952), pp. 219–223, that he represents Demetrios Poliorketes and that the aged rider in the battle scene on the opposite main side is Antigonos Gonatos. No coin portraits of Antigonos exist, hence Charbonneau adduces certain coin types of Demetrios struck after 290 B.C. that differ from earlier issues and assumes that they may actually show the features of Antigonos. It is unfortunate for this comparison that it is neither visually persuasive nor does Charbonneau explain why the presence of bull's horns (worn only by Demetrios and Seleukos I Nikator) appear on such a type. The conventional view, that the left rider represents Alexander the Great, the figure flanking Abdalonymos on the right very likely Hephaestion—in view of the historical roles they played in placing the king on his throne after the Battle of Issos in 333 B.C.—is doubtless correct given the virtual identity between the features of this left rider and those of the certain figure of Alexander riding into battle on the main side wearing his characteristic lion's head helmet. The head in the hunting scene was

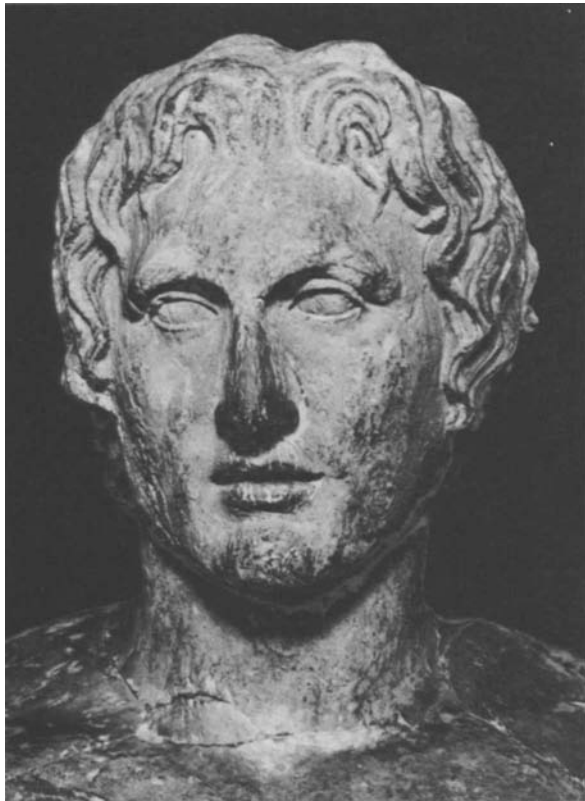


Figure 19. Paris, The Louvre. The Azara Herm.

and Ptolemy at Delphi.²⁸ Diodorus alludes to golden statues of Antigonos and Demetrios standing in a chariot near the celebrated group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton in the Agora at Athens and to a later group of the Kings at Rhodes.²⁹ In addition to these statues known from literary references, actual fragments of a gilded equestrian statue of Demetrios have been recovered in recent years in the Athenian Agora.³⁰

In all three previous brief notes on the Smith head, it

once provided with a diadem, appropriate for Alexander at the time this sarcophagus was made but not for Demetrios before 306 B.C. For the latest detailed discussion of this famous monument see Volkmar von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt (Istanbuler Forschungen, 28)*, Berlin, 1970, pp. 42 ff., in particular, 49 ff. and 146 ff., and for the proposed date, 312 B.C., pp. 13, 166 ff. Dated by Karl Schefold, *Der Alexander-Sarkophag*, Berlin, 1968, p. 33, after the death of Alexander in 323. Neither Von Graeve, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 and n. 73, 146, n. 118, nor Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 35, accepted Charbonneaux's thesis. For excellent photographs of the heads of Alexander on both long sides of the sarcophagus, see Von Graeve, *op. cit.*, pls. 48, 49, 51, fig. 1.

28. Olympia: 6.15.7 and 6.16.3; Delphi: 10.10.2.

29. Athens: 20.46.2; Rhodes: 20.93.6.

30. See T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia*, 42 (1973), pp. 165–168, pl. 36 and Caroline M. Houser, "The Agora Horseman: Demetrios Poliorketes," *Hesperia* forthcoming.

31. *Bulletin*, p. 3; *Catalogue*, *loc. cit.*; Frel, *op. cit.*, p. 24, fig. 24.

has been either stated or implied that it resembles the head of a presumed athlete in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (Figs. 20–22).³¹ This essentially well-preserved head³² wears a broad, carved fillet and is characterized by swollen ears. It has been suggested, therefore, that it represents an athlete (that is, a boxer?) or a youthful Herakles.³³ The crude relief fillet slashed with meaningless striations, the disorderly, unsystematic effort to carve the locks of the hair, the crude rectangular shape of the

Frederick Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen, 1951, p. 103, 117. Acc. No. 1.N.455. Ht. 0.23m. Marble with inserted eyes (marble eyeballs, diorite iris; pupils—presumably of stone or paste—missing). Poulsen and Frel assume that it came from a herm dating from the "Graeco-Roman" period or the first century B.C. "after a work by Lysippos" (caption to Frel, *op. cit.*, fig. 24). Originally thought to be Skopaiac. Acquired in 1888 from the collection of Count Tyszkiewicz in Rome and "said to have come from the Athens Acropolis".

32. Right nostril and lower portion of nose missing; nicks on brow and chin, and slight gashes on cheeks; lobe of left ear chipped; line of crack or split running from crown of head down skull and neck on both sides.

33. Poulsen, *loc. cit.*; Frel, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 50: "a prince-athlete." He, too, assumed that the ears of the Smith head "show some traces of bruising from boxing" (p. 20). I see no trace of such symptoms in the sole ear preserved.

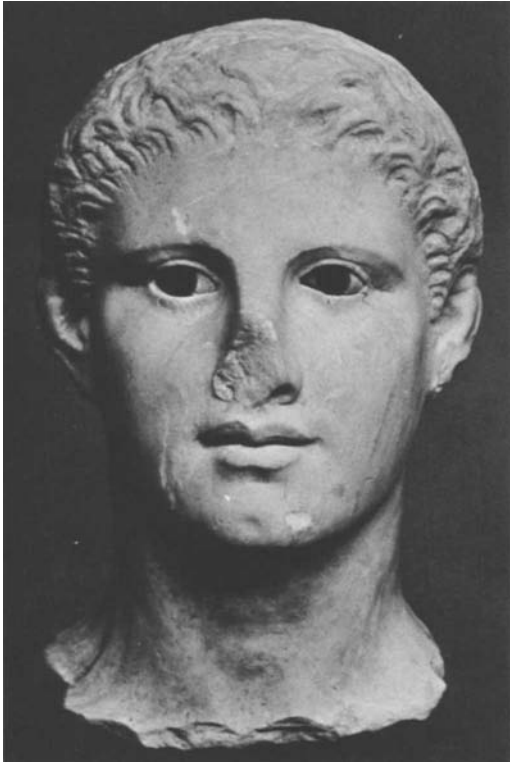


Figure 20. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble head (front view).

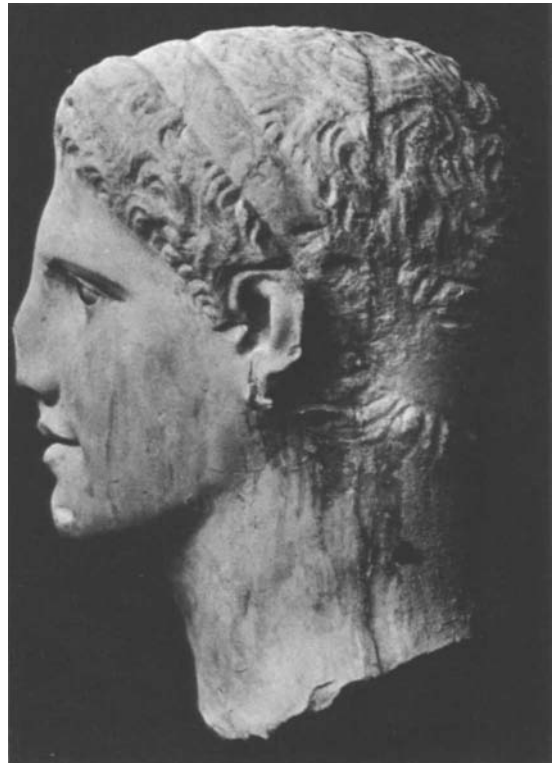


Figure 21. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble head (left profile).

left ear totally unrelated to the contour of the right ear, the character of the mouth and dimpled chin—to mention the most obvious features—clearly proclaim this head as a modern forgery.³⁴

Returning to the Smith head and the question of its date and identity, it seems reasonable to assume that it dates from the early third century B.C. and that it may well reflect a lost bronze portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes made by an unknown, early Hellenistic sculptor.

Phyllis Williams Lehmann
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Northampton

34. Even the breaks and damages to be expected in an antique marble head have been ingeniously provided in such a fashion as not to mar the head irretrievably for a potential collector. Therefore, I cannot accept Frel's conviction that the Copenhagen head is a genuine antique. See *The Getty Bronze*, p. 24, and *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum, A Checklist*, loc. cit.

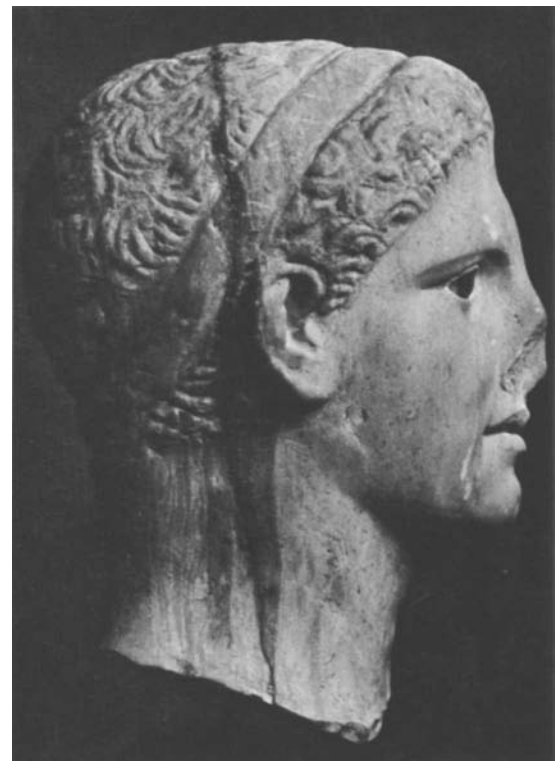


Figure 22. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Marble head (right profile).

A New Portrait Type of Octavia Minor (?)

An exceptionally fine portrait bust of a Roman matron from the Augustan period was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1972 (figs. 1–4).¹ Without a doubt the bust represents a lady from within the imperial circle. Its sensitive characterization and technical excellence bespeak imperial quality while its physiognomical resemblance to the *Octavii* and somewhat larger-than-life size attest to the noble rank of the lady portrayed.

The Getty bust is of particular interest for several reasons. With it is introduced a new portrait type for the years 20 to 10 B.C., a decade in which the evidence for imperial female portraiture remains meager indeed despite the *Ara Pacis*.² It possesses, moreover, a remarkable blend of individualism and psychological insight seldom encountered in female portraits, imperial or private, of the Augustan period. And last, but not least, it appears to represent Octavia Minor, the beloved sister of Augustus, who served as a willing pawn in the power politics of the late Republic. If so, it would greatly enrich the iconography of that lady by establishing the existence of a mature portrait of Octavia without the old-fashioned *nodus* coiffure which has up to now been considered Octavia's sole hairstyle from her youth to her death.³

At first inspection, identification of the Getty bust seems doomed to failure, for comparison with inscribed

coin and marble portraits, the surest route to successful identification of Roman busts such as this, cannot provide unassailable evidence. The comparative material is itself too limited in scope.⁴ Female coin portraits identified by name are non-existent in the Republic and can be numbered on one hand in the Augustan period. Even those identified by fairly reliable circumstantial evidence do not number over twenty for the more than a half-century from 43 B.C. to A.D. 14 and then cover only the three ladies at the pinnacle of the Augustan court—namely, Livia and Octavia Minor, wife and sister respectively of the Princeps, and Julia, his daughter, twenty to thirty years their junior. Moreover, family likeness may easily obscure portrait identities within the Augustan circle while the idealizing tendencies of Augustan art—which are especially pronounced in female portraiture—may suppress whatever physiognomical differences might have existed originally.

Yet the Getty bust need not be consigned to the hopeless anonymity which is the fate of so many Roman portraits. Certain clues to the identity of the lady are to be found in her age, her facial features and her unusual coiffure. The last named, in fact, affords the best evidence for the identity of the lady for it allows the portrait type here to be dated with reasonable assurance to the years 20–10

I want to thank Dr. Jiri Frel both for allowing me to work on this interesting portrait and for offering his opinions about the piece.

Abbreviations used here are those recommended by *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1970) and *The American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978) 5–10, with the following exceptions:

BMC *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*

Crawford: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press 1974).

Furnée-van Zwet: L. Furnée-van Zwet, "Fashions in Women's Hair-Dress in the First Century of the Roman Empire," *BABesch* 31 (1956) 1–22.

Polaschek: K. Polaschek, "Studien zu einem Frauenkopf im Landesmuseum Trier und zur weiblichen Haartracht der iulisch-claudischen Zeit," *Trierer Zeitschrift* 35 (1972) 141–89.

Sydenham: E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London 1952).

1. Inv. 72.AA.106. Italian marble, height 54 cm. The greater part of the nose and the outer edges of the ears are lost as well as a large chip from the chin, but otherwise the bust is in excellent condition, with a well-preserved surface marred only by small chips and minor abrasions in the area of the right eye and the mouth and along the outer edges of the

draped bust. See C. Vermeule, N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1973) 26 no. 55; J. Frel, *Greek and Roman Portraits from The J. Paul Getty Museum*, exhibition October 16–November 11, 1973 at California State University at Northridge, p. 20, no. 18.

2. For portraits of the decade, see: Polaschek pp. 146–55 and Furnée-van Zwet pp. 1–22, esp. illus. p. 2. For the most recent discussion and bibliography of the *Ara Pacis* procession, see: J. Pollini, "Studies in Augustan 'Historical' Reliefs," Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (1978) 75–172, available through the University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

3. A *nodus* coiffure may be recognized by the knot, puff or roll of hair over the forehead; cf. Furnée-van Zwet pp. 4–5. For the iconography of Octavia Minor, see most recently: J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York: 1978) 48–50; H. Bartels, *Studien zum Frauenporträt der augusteischen Zeit* (Munich, n.d., 1963?) with bibliography.

4. Critical analysis of the numismatic comparanda of the early Augustan period, based upon the work of Furnée-van Zwet is given by this author in *AJA* 82 (1978) 196 n. 10, 205 n. 46 and esp. 206 n. 54.

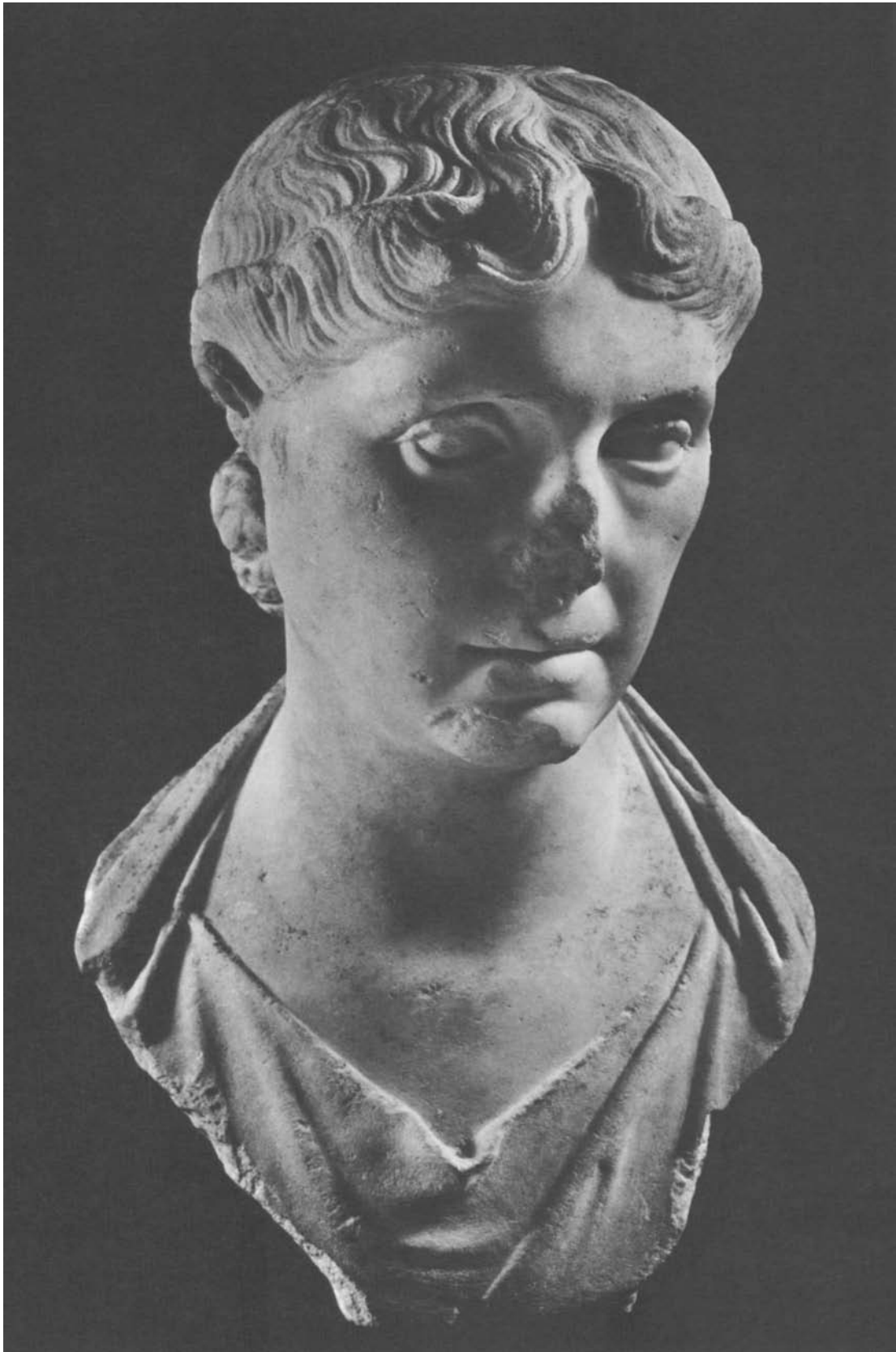


Figure 1. Bust of Octavia Minor. The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 72.AA.106. Front view. Photo: Raymond Fortt Studios.



Figure 2. Bust of Octavia Minor. The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 72.AA.106. Left profile. Photo: Raymond Fortt Studios.



Figure 3. Bust of Octavia Minor. The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 72.AA.106. Right profile. Photo: Raymond Fortt Studios.



Figure 4. Bust of Octavia Minor. The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 72.AA.106. Back view.

eight from the back quadrants, meet at the nape of the neck where they are individually braided and formed into a large, somewhat flattened and fan-shaped bun, hanging low upon the neck. The bun itself (fig. 4) differs from most buns of Augustan-period coiffures in that the braided strands are not wrapped around the base of the bun like a ribbon (as in fig. 10) but are instead rolled up inside it and then pulled out separately from the openings on the sides, drawn across the top of the bun and secured within it.

Parallels of Augustan date may be found for individual elements within the coiffure but none for the coiffure as a whole. For the bun itself one may turn to a portrait of an old woman in the Vatican (fig. 5)⁶ and a portrait of a middle-aged woman on a grave relief in Rome (fig. 6).⁷ The bun on the Vatican portrait is not quite so large or thick as that on the Getty portrait while the bun on the relief

b.c., to a time when only two ladies within the imperial family—Livia and Octavia—would have possessed the middle-aged maturity seen in the Getty bust.⁵

Close examination of this coiffure reveals a number of singular features. To begin with, it is (so far as I have been able to determine) unique. The hair is first parted down the middle of the head and then parted in a sweeping arc beginning near the nape, running up over the crown and descending once again to the nape. This double parting effectively divides the hair into four quadrants. The front two quadrants are combed forward and twisted (loosely at the forehead but tightly behind the ears) into two separate strands which are drawn to the rear while the back two quadrants are each divided vertically into four separate strands which are drawn to the nape of the neck. All of the ten strands, the two from the front quadrants and the

5. Contrary to Vermeule and Neuerburg (*supra* n. 1) who date the bust to around a.d. 20–50, apparently by reason of the hairstyle which they claim, “is definitely that of the early to middle Julio-Claudian period,” and who suggest Livia and Antonia Minor, the youngest daughter of Octavia, as possible identifications for the bust. Cf. the hairstyle chronologies of Polaschek (pp. 146–55) and Furnée-van Zwet *entire*, esp. illus. p. 2. Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and her contemporaries, the daughters of Octavia Minor (including Antonia Minor), belonged to the younger generation and would have been in their late teens or twenties

or at the most early thirties during the decade 20–10 b.c.—which rules them out here.

6. Inv. 10179. Formerly Lateran Museum, Sala X, n. 614, now Vatican, Gregorian Profane Museum: A. Guiliano, *Catalogo dei Ritratti Romani del Museo Profano Lateranense* (Città del Vaticano 1957) no. 18, pl. 12; Helbig¹ I, p. 795, no. 1110.

7. Museo Nazionale, chiostro, ala III, inv. 841: D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture, The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Garland Publishing, Inc., New York 1977) 209, no. 24, fig. 24.



Figure 5. Head of old woman, mid-Augustan period. Rome, formerly Lateran Museum, inv. no. 10179, now Vatican, Gregorian Profane Museum.



Figure 6. Grave relief, mid-Augustan period. Rome, Museo Nazionale, chiostro, ala III, inv. no. 841. Photo: Ministero Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Roma.

does not lie as low upon the neck as does that on the Getty bust; in both cases, however, the front strands exit from the side openings of the plaited bun just as do those in the Getty portrait. For the middle part with the twisted strands along the sides of the head, one may compare another portrait of an old woman in the Vatican⁸ and a portrait of a young woman on a grave relief in New York (fig. 7).⁹ For the "melon" formation of the back quadrants of the coiffure, one may turn to the portraits of the two young girls on the Ara Pacis (figs. 8–9),¹⁰ to a portrait head of a young woman joined to an unrelated statue in the Vatican (fig. 11),¹¹ and to a portrait in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.¹² Yet there appears to be no single portrait with a coiffure corresponding to that of the Getty bust.

8. Inv. 1673. Museo Chiaramonti no. 432: W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums I* (Berlin 1903) 594, no. 432, pl. 62; drawing in Polaschek (Abb. 6.13).

9. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 09.221.2: G. M. A. Richter, *Roman Portraits* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1949) fig. 6; Kleiner (supra n. 7) 208, no. 22, fig. 22.

10. For the most recent identifications of the children on the Ara Pacis reliefs and earlier literature; see: Pollini (supra n. 2) 112–4, who identifies the girl in the south frieze (fig. 8) as Domitia or another child of Antonia Major (but not Domitia Lepida, later mother of Messalina) and, with less credibility, the younger girl in the north frieze as Julia Minor, daughter of Julia and Agrippa. Cf. D. E. E. Kleiner, "The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives, and Augustan

Apparently, the Getty coiffure represents a unique and interesting amalgam of at least three modish hairstyles of the early Empire.

To date the unusual coiffure of the Getty bust, it would therefore seem logical to search for a chronological framework within which the three principal features of the coiffure (bun, middle part with twisted side strands, and melon-striated back) might co-exist. One point within such a time period seems assured, for the Ara Pacis reliefs of 13–9 B.C. not only provide excellent parallels for the melon-striated back, the middle part, and the twisted side strands, but they also offer a reasonable comparison for the low-slung braided bun (figs. 8–10).¹³ What, however, are the upper and lower chronological limitations for the

Social Policy," *MéRome* 90 (1978) 759–61, who accepts Domitia for the girl on the south frieze but seems to prefer (wrongly, in my opinion) an identification of Agrippina Major for the girl on the north frieze.

11. Inv. 9839. Formerly Lateran Museum, Sala IV, no. 277, now Vatican, Gregorian Profane Museum: Guiliano (supra n. 6) no. 34, pls. 13, 60; Helbig¹ I, p. 742, no. 1031.

12. Inv. 1081: H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (1926, reprint Rome 1968) 163 no. 14, pl. 57, no. 14; drawing given by Polaschek (Abb. 6.10). This piece, if authentic and not recut, would appear to represent an important transition piece between the *nodus* and the middle part coiffures, as the hair is parted in the center, combed to the sides in loose waves and formed into a braided bun at the back while some hair is brought up from the back and tied at the top of



Figure 7. Grave relief, mid-Augustan period. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 09.221.2.

Getty coiffure since this and only this will decide the list of possible candidates for the identification of the bust?

Beyond the Ara Pacis, evidence for dating the Getty coiffure becomes a bit piecemeal; nonetheless, several considerations taken in conjunction with the history of Roman hairdress do suggest that the Getty coiffure could have originated anywhere between 20 and 10 B.C., but not much earlier and not much later. To begin with, perusal of female hairdress reveals that between around 40 B.C. and A.D. 14 the bun descended gradually from the top of the head to low upon the neck, becoming less round and more fan-tailed in the process. At the same time the *nodus*, having survived the vagaries of fashion for over a generation, eventually went out of vogue and was replaced by

the middle part.¹⁴ Melon-striated coiffures, in contrast, seem to have had little appeal for Roman women in the last fifty years of the first century B.C.—perhaps because of the coiffure's eastern origin and its association with the notorious Cleopatra in particular (fig. 12).¹⁵ The Egyptian queen must have worn the traditional Hellenistic version of the melon-coiffure (with the striations running the entire length of the head from front to back) during her sojourn in Rome from 46 to 44 B.C.¹⁶ Yet the sole witness to its adoption by the Romans in the 40's is an extremely rare aureus of 42 B.C. (fig. 13), which shows a head of Libertas on the obverse, wearing a coiffure exceptional for late Republican and Augustan times; here a melon-striated back is combined with a middle part, twisted side

the head in the manner of a *nodus* although the knot does not hang over the forehead but is placed further back. Unfortunately, the plate in Stuart Jones is very unclear and, as a consequence, the piece looks rather strange. Yet a similar "transitional" coiffure appears on a group grave relief of the Augustan period (see Kleiner [supra n. 7] 231, no. 63, figs. 63a, 63c) so, without seeing the portrait in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, I would tend to accept the piece as authentic along with Stuart Jones and Polaschek.

13. Melon-striated back: girl in the south frieze (fig. 8) and girl in the north frieze (fig. 9); middle part: Antonia Minor and female silencer near her (fig. 10) *et al.*; twisted side strands (with *nodus*, not middle part): girl in the south frieze (fig. 8); low-slung, braided bun: Antonia Minor (fig.

10), who is the only figure, other than the children, whose hairknot at the back of the head is visible.

14. Cf. Polaschek pp. 146–55, Abb. 5–6, and Furnée-van Zwet pp. 1–7 and illus. p. 2, whose dates for the adoption of the middle part differ by slightly over a decade, principally because Polaschek accepts the evidence of the Ara Pacis and Furnée-van Zwet limits herself to coins. Both, however, observe the same development in women's hairdress.

15. For Cleopatra's melon-coiffure, see: BMC *Egypt* pp. 122–3, nos. 1–11, pls. 30.5–8, 31.6–7; Sydenham nos. 1210a b; Crawford no. 543; Bank Leu AG Zürich auction catalogue 29–30 April 1975 no. 367 (fig. 12 here); Toynbee (supra n. 3) 86–8.

16. RE XI, I (1921) 754–5 s.v. Kleopatra VII.



Figure 8. Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome. Detail of young girl, possibly Domitia, from the family group of Antonia Major on the south frieze. Photo: DAI Rome.



Figure 9. Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome. Detail of young girl from the family group of (?) Octavia Minor on the north frieze. Photo: DAI Rome.

strands and a fat, low-slung bun from which hangs a long, curly tendril.¹⁷ Moreover, among the many Roman portraits of the years 40 B.C. to A.D. 14—including independent busts and statues, grave reliefs, and coin and gem portraits—the melon-coiffure is seldom encountered, and when it is, it is no longer the Hellenistic version but a peculiarly Roman one which combines the melon striations with a *nodus* and, occasionally, with twisted side strands as well.

17. See Sydenham nos. 1302–3, Crawford nos. 498–9. Although Roman, this coin was minted for the tyrannicide Cassius in one of the eastern provinces—Asia Minor, to be specific—where the Hellenistic melon-coiffure had long been known. The total coiffure has, nevertheless, an unmistakable Roman imprint in that the front hair is separated from the back and arranged in twisted strands along the sides of the head, the whole meeting in a braided bun hanging low upon the neck; it might even have a *nodus*, but this is not clear. Interestingly enough, the only comparable coiffure on Roman coinage is to be found on denarii of M. Cato of 47–46 B.C. (Crawford no. 462/1b) which like the above-mentioned aureus, was not minted in Rome but in one of the provinces—this time Africa—where the melon-coiffures of the Hellenistic queens (cf. Toynbee [supra n. 3] 79–81, 86–8) would have been familiar. Otherwise, the only melon-coiffures on late Republican-early Imperial Roman coinage are of the traditional Hellenistic sort with the melon-like partings

This capsulated history of Roman hairdress firmly establishes a date in or around the decade 20 to 10 B.C. for the Getty coiffure and, consequently, for the portrait type also. Consider only that the Getty coiffure must have originated at a time when the *nodus* hairdress was still very popular. Not only do both of the parallels mentioned for the bun exhibit a *nodus* over the forehead, but also the four parallels cited for the melon formation at the back.¹⁸ Moreover, the flat waves suspended from the center part

running from the forehead to the back on heads of Cleopatra (supra n. 15) or of deities such as Diana (Crawford no. 394/1).

18. See nn. 6–7, 10–12. The *Libertas* head (fig. 13 and n. 17), which may also have a *nodus*, is not included here as it is not a portrait in the strict sense.

19. Cf. Polaschek Abb. 5–7 (Augustan coiffures) vs. Abb. 8 (Tiberian coiffures) and Furnée-van Zwet pp. 14–15 esp.

20. *Ars amatoria* II, 303; III, 137–48.

21. Ovid was exiled to the Black Sea region by Augustus in A.D. 8 for a variety of reasons including the “licentious” nature of his *Ars amatoria*, a poem recounting the arts of seduction and intrigue; for the date of this, see: Schanz-Hosius II⁴ (1935) 211 and RE XVIII, 2 (1942) 1933f., s.v. Ovidius (W. Kraus). In contrast to Ovid, however, grave stelai suggest that the choice of the *nodus* or the middle part was not directed by the



Figure 10. Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome. Detail of Antonia Minor and female silencer from the south frieze of the Ara Pacis. Photo: DAI Rome.

as well as the twisted side strands in the Getty portrait are direct descendants of the *nodus* coiffure because once the middle part has completely ousted the *nodus* over the forehead, the hair at the temples is no longer twisted but is instead drawn to the back in simple waves.¹⁹ Thus, the Getty type must date to a time when both the *nodus* and the middle part were in existence—but also a time when the latter was still newly fashionable. When could this be? The question is easily answered for Ovid, writing his *Ars*

shape of the face but by the modish or conservative taste of the individual since grave reliefs with family portrait groups show middle-aged or elderly ladies wearing the *nodus* while young women and girls sport the middle-parted coiffures; cf. Kleiner (supra n. 7) figs. 59, 88 esp.

22. Furnée-van Zwet p. 2, nos. 12–13, small bronzes of Pergamon which probably date to the decade 20–10 B.C., but which could be slightly earlier than 20 B.C. but no later than 2 B.C., when Julia was exiled: BMC Mysia p. 139 nos. 248–9, pl. 28.6; *Monnaies et Médailles* S.A., Bâle, auction catalogue 19–20 June 1975 no. 562 and *Monnaies anciennes et modernes provenant de collections privées*, S.A., Bâle, auction catalogue Sept. 30–1 Oct. 1976, no. 199, all with good illustrations showing different varieties of the *nodus* coiffure. Furnée-van Zwet p. 2, no. 14 shows an undated lead tessera with Julia apparently and wearing the *nodus* coiffure; if Julia, the wife of Agrippa, and not their daughter Julia

amatoria around the beginning of our era, plays beauty consultant, recommending the *nodus* coiffure for the woman with the full face and the middle part for the woman with the thin face.²⁰ Ovid proffered his advice apparently not before 1 B.C. and certainly no later than A.D. 8; yet he was merely echoing the taste of his time, not setting fashion.²¹ By the time of the *Ars amatoria*, the middle part was well established in Roman hairdress. Even at the time of the Ara Pacis, some eight to twelve years earlier *minimum*, it cannot have been so novel, for it is worn by all of the mature women with intact coiffures, and it is combined there with simply combed side waves and not the earlier twisted side strands seen in the Getty bust. In all likelihood, the middle part was introduced sometime around 20 to 15 B.C., slightly in advance of the Ara Pacis and its first appearance on a dated imperial monument, at a time when the handful of female portrait coins which do exist show the *nodus* coiffure coupled with twisted side strands and a low bun.²² Consider now that the last positively dated examples of the melon coiffure occur on the Ara Pacis and that detailed studies of Roman hairdress during the Augustan period have demonstrated that neither the melon-striations of the back hair nor the middle part with the twisted side strands survive into late Augustan times and that they are already rare in middle Augustan times.²³ Thus, the Getty type must date to a time no later than the mid-Augustan period and not much, if any, later than the Ara Pacis. All facts considered, it would then appear that the Getty bust has an upper date of around 20 B.C. and a lower date of around 10 B.C.

Now that the portrait type has been dated, it becomes feasible to pursue its identification. In the decade 20 to 10 B.C. only three ladies stood high enough in the favor of Augustus to merit an over life-size portrait such as the Getty bust—his wife, his sister and his daughter. Of the three, his daughter Julia is ruled out by her age.²⁴ Born in 39 B.C., Julia would have been at least 19 but no more

Minor, then the tessera must date no later than 2 B.C. (cf. Grimm [infra n. 24] Taf. 87.2).

23. Cf. Polaschek pp. 146–62, Abb. 6.10, 6.13 (middle Augustan period) vs. Abb. 7 (late Augustan period), where the front quadrants are still separated from the back, but where the hair is either parted in the middle or given a flattened *nodus* and combed to the sides in loose or crimped waves or arranged into many individual segments recalling the melon-coiffure. No coiffure of late Augustan times appears to exhibit the simply twisted side strands which run from the middle part to behind the ears in the Getty portrait.

24. For the iconography of Julia, see most recently: G. Grimm, “Zum Bildnis der Iulia Augusti,” RM 80 (1973) 279–82, Taf. 86–7; Bartels (supra n. 3) 73–74.



Figure 11. Head of young girl, mid-Augustan period, joined to unrelated statue. Rome, formerly Lateran Museum, inv. no. 9839, now Vatican, Gregorian Profane Museum.



than 29 during the decade in question. The Getty bust, however, clearly represents a much older woman, for its fleshy face, sagging jawline, incipient double chin and weary, bag-encircled eyes belong to a middle-aged matron well over 30. In age, either Livia, the wife of Augustus, or Octavia Minor, his elder sister, would be good candidates for the identification of the Getty portrait. Octavia was born around 69 B.C. and Livia in 58 B.C.; at the time of the Getty portrait Octavia would have been between 48 and 58 years old and Livia between 38 and 48 years old. Phy-

siognomy, however, points unmistakably to Octavia rather than Livia for the identification of the Getty bust. The iconography of Livia is comparatively well understood, and her portraits are never quite as fleshy and matronly as the Getty piece, while some of Octavia's portraits (n. 28, no. 4) are.²⁵ In addition, coin and marble portraits agree in bestowing upon Livia a soft face, full cheeks, large eyes, and a decidedly aquiline nose—none of which is in evidence here. Moreover, the triangular face, broad forehead, prominent cheekbones, small eyes,

25. For the iconography of Livia, see: W. H. Gross, "Julia Augusta," *AbhGött* ser. 3, no. 52 (1962) 10–131, and Bartels (supra n. 3) 29–72.

26. One of the best indications of the resemblance between Octavian and Octavia is to be found on the AE tripondii of 37–36 B.C. (infra n. 28, no. 5) which show conjoined busts of Antony and Octavian facing a bust of Octavia. The die-engraver has provided the brother and sister with much more classic features than Antony and has given both broad, smooth foreheads, long, straight noses and small, round chins. For the iconography of Octavian-Augustus, see: Toynbee (supra n. 3) 51–6; P. Zanker, "Studien zu den Augustus-Porträts I. Der Actium-Typus," *AbhGött* 85 (1973); H. Kähler, *Die Augustusstatue von Prima Porta*, *Monumenta Artis Romanae* 1 (Cologne 1959).

27. Supra n. 3.

28. A summary of the coin portraits of Octavia Minor (only no. 1 below illus.) may be found in Toynbee (supra n. 3) 49, but her dating of the coins is occasionally slightly off. Six different portrait types occur on the coins, all with a *nodus* of some sort: 1) Large head r. on rev. of unique aureus in Berlin of 40 B.C., with Antony on the obv. (Crawford no. 527), 2) Small head r., similar to no. 1, above a *cista mystica* on rev. of AR cistophori of the East of 39 B.C., with Antony on the obv. (Sydenham no. 1197), 3) Conjoined heads of Antony (front) and Octavia (rear) r. on the obv. of AR cistophori of the East of 39 B.C. (Sydenham no. 1198), 4) Large head r. on the rev. of eastern aurei of 38 B.C., with Antony on the obv. (Crawford no. 533.3), 5) Large head l., facing head of Antony r., on the obv. of AE sestertii and dupondii and similar head l.,

straight nose, full lips and round chin of the Getty portrait are all features which can be seen in portraits of Augustus so that some kind of family relationship seems to exist between the lady of the Getty portrait and the *Princeps*.²⁶

Traditional scholarly opinion today, however, would not admit an identification of the Getty portrait as Octavia even though the iconography of Octavia Minor is clouded in obscurity.²⁷ Not one of her marble portraits has been positively identified by an accompanying inscription, nor have any of her coin portraits. All the same, a number of coin portraits (fig. 14) unquestionably represent Octavia because of strong circumstantial evidence.²⁸ They are all associated with portraits of Antony or of Antony and Octavian and are all dated to the eventful years 40 to 36 B.C. when Octavia played an influential role in the politics of the late Republic by marrying Antony and serving as a peace-maker between her husband and her brother on more than one occasion.²⁹ Most of Octavia's coin portraits show her as a lady of classic beauty with stately carriage. Only the eastern *aurei* of 38 B.C. (n. 28, no. 4) and some of the (?) Tarentine small bronzes of 37/36 B.C. (n. 28, no. 6) present a slightly different appearance; the *aurei* reveal a fleshier visage with jutting chin borrowed from portraits of Antony, while certain of the small bronzes reveal Octavia's profile, quickly sketched and basically unrecognizable, behind a somewhat better executed portrait of Antony. All of Octavia's portraits agree, however, in giving her a *nodus* over the forehead and a bun at the back of the head, although the appearance of the former and the shape and position of the latter change as the years pass. The coiffures of the coin portraits thus bear little resemblance to that of the Getty portrait which has no *nodus*.

What must be underscored here, however, is that the coin portraits of Octavia ended when her role in the politics of the foundering "Second" Triumvirate had been played out—namely, in 35 B.C. when Octavia took money and troops to Greece for Antony and in return received from him a cruel letter of dismissal.³⁰ Yet Octavia lived

facing conjoined heads r. of Antony (front) and Octavian (rear) on the obv. of AE tripondii, all of 37–36 B.C. and probably minted at Tarentum (Sydenham nos. 1255–7, 1261–3, 1265–7), and 6) Small conjoined heads r. of Antony (front) and Octavia (rear) on the obv. of AE asses of 37–36 B.C., probably minted in Tarentum (Sydenham nos. 1258, 1264, 1268). For good illustrations of nos. 2–4, see: C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Coins* (London 1974) figs. 170, 171, 173. For historical discussion and good illustrations of nos. 5–6, see: M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Porträtgemeinen der römischen Republik* (Mainz 1972) Text pp. 208–11, Kat., pp. 98–99, Taf. 154, nos. 1–7; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, 2nd ed. (London 1969) 43–5; M. von Bahrfeldt, "Die Münzen der Flottenpräfekten des Marcus Antonius," *NZ* (1905) 9–56; *Monnaies et Médailles* cat. 1975 (supra n. 22) nos. 508 (sestertius), 509–10 (as), and 511 (tripondius); Bank



Figure 12. Portrait of Cleopatra VII on obv. of AR tetradrachm, minted in (?) Phoenicia, around 34 B.C. Photo: Numismatische Abteilung, Bank Leu AG Zürich.



Figure 13. Head of Libertas on obv. of AV aureus, minted in Asia Minor, around 42 B.C. Photo: Numismatische Abteilung, Bank Leu AG Zürich.



Figure 14. Portrait of Octavia Minor, facing conjoined portraits of Marc Antony and Octavian, on obv. of AE tripondius, minted in (?) Tarentum, in 37–36 B.C. Photo: Numismatische Abteilung, Bank Leu AG Zürich.

on in Rome until her death in 11 B.C.—in retirement but high in the regard of her brother and very much respected by all.³¹ Moreover, the grateful brother, conscious of Octavia's unswerving devotion to Rome and to himself

Leu AG Zürich auction catalogue 23 April 1980, nos. 219 (tripondius, fig. 14 here and 220 (as).

29. Plutarch, *Ant.* 31, 35. Dio Cassius 48.54. RE XVII.2 (1937) 1860–3, s.v. "Octavia Minor," (M. Hammond). It should be pointed out here that Octavia was the first woman to be honored with her portrait on Roman coins; before this, heads and busts of females wearing contemporary Roman coiffures had occasionally appeared on Roman coins, but these were not portraits in the real sense since the ladies in question (Fulvia, notably) had appeared in the guise of a deity or personification. Undoubtedly, Octavia was granted this exceptional honor because of her political role in the events of 40–36 B.C.

30. Plutarch, *Ant.* 53. Dio Cassius 49.33.

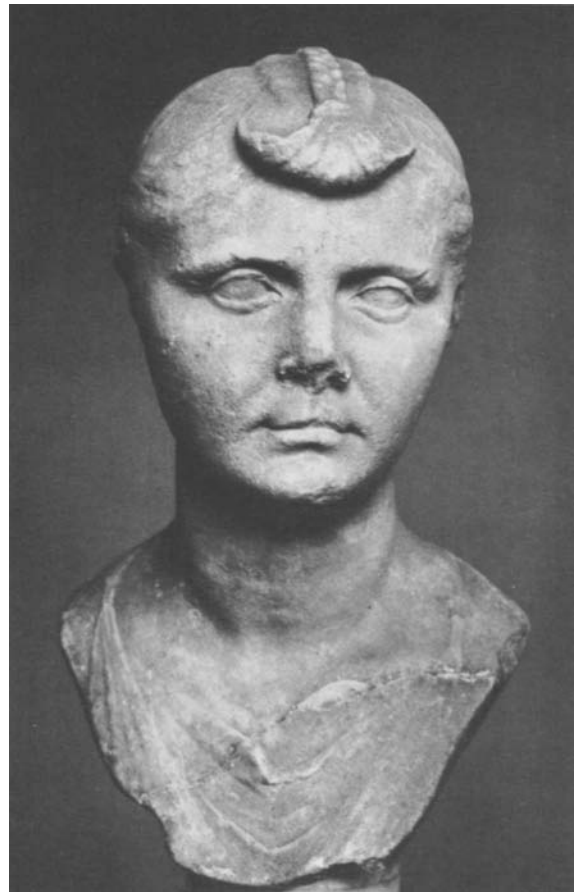


Figure 15. Bust of Octavia Minor. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1282. Front View.

and no doubt remorseful for her ill-usage by Antony in a marriage which he had arranged, secured for Octavia (and at the same time for Livia) in 35 B.C. through senatorial decree some exceptional privileges, including the erection of statues.³² Certainly throughout the administration of Augustus and probably throughout the entire Julio-Claudian period, portraits of Octavia would thus have been included in most Julio-Claudian family groups. One such group of Tiberian date was found at Béziers in southern France including an apparent portrait of Octavia wearing the *nodus* coiffure.³³ A similar portrait in Copenhagen, said to be from Cervetri and found with some other imperial busts, must also represent Octavia (figs. 15–16) for its profile resembles her coin portraits extraordinarily well.³⁴ Most important here is the fact that the fea-

tures of the Copenhagen portrait agree remarkably well with those of the Getty bust, considering that the Copenhagen piece represents a younger woman than does the Getty bust.

There is, of course, no positive proof to substantiate an identification of the Getty bust as Octavia Minor. Yet surely not all the statues and busts of Octavia erected, either publicly or privately, between 35 and 11 B.C. or posthumously, copied youthful portraits from the time of her marriage to Antony or before her entry into the political arena.³⁵ Some of the later portraits must have depicted Octavia with a more matronly appearance, one befitting the woman who magnanimously mothered Antony's children by Fulvia and Cleopatra along with their own daughters and her three children by her first hus-

31. Plutarch, *Ant.* 31, 54, 57. Dio Cassius 49.43. Seneca, *Dial.* 11.5.3.

32. Dio Cassius 49.38. For statues and portrait inscriptions of Octavia Minor; see: C. Hanson, F. P. Johnson, "On Certain Portrait Inscriptions," *AJA* 50 (1946) 389, 393, 399–400, who suggest—wrongly, in my opinion—that the portraits of Octavia were very limited, even in antiquity, but who do correct (p. 400 n. 17) the error in *RE* (supra n. 29) 1861, which reports a statue of Octavia in Athens when it should be a statue of Antony. See also *JHS* 6 (1885) 71, for the possibility of a statue

of the Gens Julia in the likeness of Octavia at Corinth.

33. V. H. Poulsen, "Studies in Julio-Claudian Iconography," *ActaA* 17 (1946) 7–22, fig. 7. The Béziers group is not accompanied by an inscription naming the individual family members; however, a Tiberian group found at Leptis Magna was discovered together with a Neo-Punic inscription naming the family members, but it does not include Octavia Minor (cf. Poulsen, pp. 44–48).

34. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1282: V. Poulsen, *Les portraits ro-*

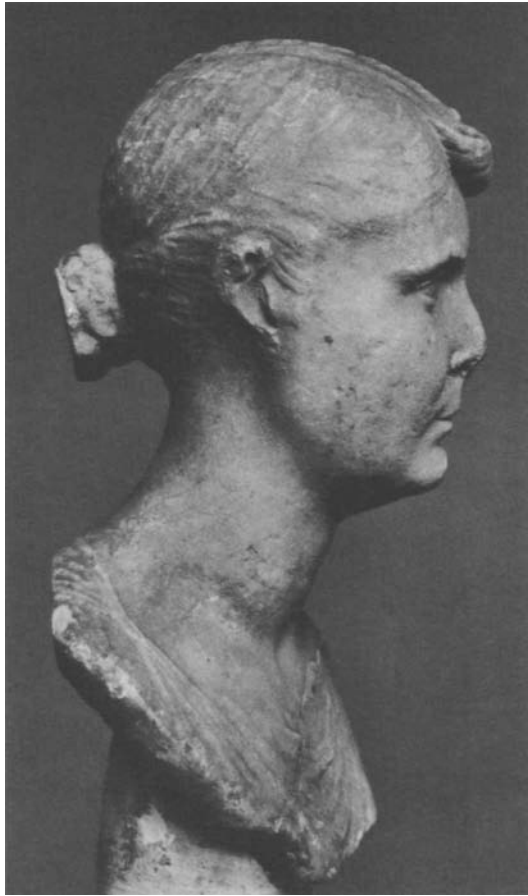


Figure 16. Bust of Octavia Minor. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1282. Right profile.

band.³⁶ Although Octavia lived in retirement after Antony's desertion and repudiation of her, she undoubtedly entered society upon special occasions such as the marriage of her daughter Marcella to Agrippa around 28 B.C. and that of her son to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in 25 B.C.³⁷ She must also have gathered together with her family to celebrate the awarding of the honorific title Augustus to Octavian in 27 B.C. Even after her son's untimely death in 23 B.C., the bereaved Octavia must have interrupted her mourning and come out of seclusion to celebrate the marriages of her two daughters by Antony and to join in the consecration ceremonies for the Altar of Peace awarded to Augustus by the Senate in 13 B.C.³⁸

A mature portrait type of Octavia may well have been commissioned upon any of these happy occasions;

however, the most obvious occasion for the creation of a mature portrait type for Octavia would have been upon her death in 11 B.C. Octavia's obsequies were quite grand.³⁹ Her body was displayed in the Temple of the divine Julius; Augustus made the funeral oration and her son-in-law Drusus spoke from the rostra. Afterwards, her male relatives carried her body to the gravesite, which must have been situated within the splendid family mausoleum just built by Augustus. Portraits had always played an important role in the funerals of Roman notables, and a mature, slightly over life-size bust such as that in the Getty would have been ideal for display within a funeral procession. Whatever the case, as the tragic heroine *par excellence* of the late Republic, the beloved sister of the Princes and a respected connection for many

mains, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothèque I* (Copenhagen 1962) 76–7, no. 41, pls. 68–9.

35. Considering the Roman penchant for portraiture, it appears likely that Octavia Minor was portrayed at some point before 40 B.C.—perhaps upon the occasion of her marriage to C. Claudius Marcellus (which occurred not later than 54 B.C.), if not before.

36. Plutarch, *Ant.* 87.

37. Plutarch, *Ant.* 54, 57. *RE* (supra n. 29) 1863–4.

38. Seneca (*Dial.* 6.2.3–4) reports that Octavia hid herself away completely and never gave up her mourning for her son, but as Pollini (supra n. 2) 162, n. 125, concludes, this must be “rhetorical hyperbole,” when one considers all the sources. At any rate, Octavia is regularly included in the family procession of the Ara Pacis although scholars differ as to which figure is she, some identifying the silencer in fig. 10 here as Octavia, others preferring the matronly figure in front of the young girl on the north frieze; see Pollini p. 112, nn. 124–5.

39. *RE* (supra n. 29) 1864–5. Dio Cassius 54. 35.

an imperial hopeful, Octavia must have been honored with a spate of portraits after her death.⁴⁰

The portrait in the Getty may well represent a posthumous portrait type created for Octavia shortly after her death, for the shape of the bust and the handling of the stone belong to the Augustan period while the facial features and the coiffure together point to Octavia Minor. Whether or not the Getty bust is accepted as a heretofore unknown portrait type of the mature Octavia without the *nodus* coiffure, its sensitive characterization and psychological insight make it one of the more remarkable female portraits of the Augustan period. The forms of the face

are very subtly manipulated to reveal not just the noble lady but the person within. Clearly, this kindly countenance with its timeless beauty conceals some great personal sorrow, for the tragic air about it is unmistakable. The lady's eyes are sad and reflective; her mouth slightly parted as if to emit a sigh. Might this not be Octavia Minor at the end of her life—Octavia, an acknowledged beauty in her youth, a woman of great fortitude and resolve, who opened her heart to the fatherless children of her faithless husband, who bore her personal sorrows in silence and seclusion?

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49. Contrary to Hanson and Johnson (*supra* n. 32) 400. Pausanias II, 3, 1, reports that she had a temple in Corinth, but what he may have meant was that she had a statue in the Temple of the Gens Julia there; cf.

JHS (*supra* n. 32). At any rate, she certainly was accorded a number of honors not just in her lifetime but posthumously as well.

Ein Endymionsarkophag in Malibu

Die kleine Sammlung kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage im J. Paul Getty Museum konnte kürzlich von J. Frel durch ein Exemplar bereichert werden, das zwar in einigen Teilen beschädigt, aber dennoch ein bezeichnendes Beispiel seiner Gattung ist (Abb. 1. 2. 11).¹

Es handelt sich um die Vorderseite eines stadtrömischen Sarkophages; die Nebenseiten sind abgesägt. Im linken Teil finden sich Brüche und Beschädigungen, und einige Teile am oberen und unteren Rand fehlen. Ergänzungen sind nicht vorgenommen worden. Der Relieffries wird oben und unten von schmalen vorspringenden Leisten gerahmt.

Für die Darstellung ist eine ganze Reihe von Parallelen auf den kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen vorhanden, genaue Übereinstimmung bei der Figurenabfolge gibt es aber nicht. Es handelt sich um die griechische Sage von Selene und Endymion;² von ihr sind verschiedene Versionen überliefert, aber auf den Sarkophagen wird nur eine Begebenheit geschildert und im Bilde gestaltet.

Selene, die Göttin des Mondes, hatte sich in den schönen Hirten—oder auch Jäger—Endymion verliebt. Er war am Berge Latmos, bei Herakleia, einer Stadt im westlichen Kleinasien, etwas südlich von Milet, beheimatet. Auf ihre Bitten—oder nach anderer Überlieferung auch auf seine—war er in nie endenden Schlaf versetzt worden, der

ihm ewige Jugend gab. Selene besuchte den Schläfer nachts, und aus der Verbindung der beiden sollen, wie uns Pausanias berichtet, 50 Töchter hervorgegangen sein.³

Auf unserer Platte ist die bukolische Umgebung, die regelmäßig zu den Endymionsarkophagen gehört,⁴ breit ausgemalt. Der linke Teil (Abb. 1) wird von einer Geländeangabe eingenommen, die in die Höhe gestaffelt ist. Unten sitzt ein Hirt in Exomis (Abb. 6). Er hat einen Beutel umgehängt; seine linke Hand stützt er auf einen Stab. Mit der rechten scheint er einem vor ihm sitzenden Hund etwas zu fressen zu geben. In einer höhlenartigen Ausbuchtung unter dem Hirten sitzt ein kleines Kind, das mit einem Vogel spielt. Rechts steht auf der unteren Leiste ein nach rechts gewandtes Schaf, das durch seinen Schwanz als das im Süden verbreitete Fettschwanzschaf charakterisiert ist. Auf einem Geländevorsprung steht dann etwas höher links ein Widder mit sich aufrollenden Hörnern und rechts, noch etwas höher, eine Ziege, die ein Kleines säugt. In der oberen Zone stand links, neben dem Baum am Rand, eine nach links gerichtete Ziege; nur ihre Füße sind erhalten; sie war fast freiplastisch gearbeitet und lediglich durch einen dicken Steg in Höhe des Schwanzendes der hinter ihr stehenden Kuh und außerdem mit ihrem Hinterteil mit dem Grund verbunden. Rechts steht eine zweite, ebenfalls nach rechts gerichtete Kuh. Etwas

1. Inv. 76.AA.8.—h 0.54 m. L 2.14 m.—Faya und Jiří Frel sei auch an dieser Stelle für die herzliche Aufnahme in Malibu, die großzügig gegebene Publikationserlaubnis und die Anfertigung von Neuaufnahmen gedankt. Der Zentralkommission und dem Herrn Präsidenten des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts fühlt sich der Verfasser für die Gewährung des Amerika-Stipendiums für 1977 zu tiefem Dank verpflichtet. Das Sarkophagcorpus unterstützt schon seit Jahren die Bemühungen des Verfassers um die kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophage; dem Herausgeber, B. Andreae, sei auch an dieser Stelle für alle Förderung, Rat und Hilfe gedankt. Ferner ist der Verfasser D. von Bothmer, H. Jung, J.-M. Rouquette und ganz besonders H. Sichtermann, der dem Verfasser eine Fülle von Vergleichsmaterial überließ und sich stets für seine Photowünsche einsetzte, zu großem Dank verpflichtet.—Ganz besonders sei Donald A. Hull vom Getty Museum für die hervorragenden Neuaufnahmen gedankt.

Folgende Abkürzungen werden verwandt:

ASR = Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs; angegeben werden Band und Nummer des Sarkophages

Robert = C. Robert, ASR III 1 (1897); angegeben wird die Nummer des Sarkophages

Sichtermann, Endymion = H. Sichtermann, Späte Endymion-Sarkophage (1966).

Sichtermann-Koch = H. Sichtermann—G. Koch, Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen (1975).

Abbildungsnachweis:

Abb. 1 und 2: Museumsphoto.—Abb. 3: Inst. Neg. Rom 71.1100.—Abb. 4: Mus. Photo.—Abb. 5: Inst. Neg. Rom 71. 1103.—Abb. 6 und 7: Mus. Photo.—Abb. 8: Photo Verfasser.—Abb. 9: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund 1924.—Abb. 10: Foto Marburg 180 306.—Abb. 11: Mus. Photo.—Abb. 12: Inst. Neg. Rom 8422.—Abb. 13: Inst. Neg. Rom 62.188.—Abb. 14: Inst. Neg. Rom 71. 1497.

2. Zur Sage: EAA III (1960) 336 f.(H. Sichtermann). Lexikon der Alten Welt (1965) 811 (K. Schauenburg). Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike II (1967) 267 (H.v. Geisau).

Die Endymionsarkophage sind von C. Robert in dem Anm. I genannten Band des Sarkophagcorpus publiziert worden. Wichtige Ergänzungen bringt das Werk von H. Sichtermann, der auch die Neubearbeitung der Sarkophaggruppe vorbereitet.

3. Pausanias 5, 1, 3–5.

4. Vergleiche z.B. Robert 46. 51. 61. 71². 75. Sichtermann, Endymion 77 Abb. 52. W. N. Schumacher, Hirt und 'Guter Hirt' (1977) 47 ff.



Abb. 1. Sarkophagplatte in Malibu, linker Teil.



Abb. 2. Sarkophagplatte in Malibu, rechter Teil.



Abb. 3. Hippolytossarkophag im Vatikan, rechter Teil.

unterhalb von ihr liegt eine Ziege, die zu einem rechts zwischen Bäumen sitzenden bärtigen Ortsgott hochblickt.

Diese ruhige Schilderung der Natur nimmt etwa ein Viertel der ganzen Fläche ein; mit der Sage und der Szene rechts hat sie wenig zu tun, sie gibt nur den Hintergrund, verdeutlicht das friedliche Leben am Latmos und die Umgebung, in der Endymion sich aufhielt.

Rechts kommen wir zur eigentlichen Handlung. Selene verläßt ihren Wagen, der von zwei hochsteigenden Pferden gezogen wird; diese werden von einer von links herbeieilenden weiblichen Gestalt, die Flügel hatte, wie an den Resten zu sehen ist, am Zügel gehalten; ihre Benennung bereitet Schwierigkeiten, sie begegnet in der literarischen Überlieferung nicht. C. Robert hat vorgeschlagen, sie als Aura, also eine Göttin des Windes, zu bezeichnen.⁵ Unterhalb der Vorderbeine der Pferde sind auf dem Grund einige Stege und ein Flügel und auf der unteren Leiste weitere Reste erhalten. Dort stand eine Gruppe von Eros und Psyche, die sich umarmten und küßten. Gewöhnlich lagern bei den Endymionsarkophagen Ortsgottheiten unter den aufsteigenden Pferden, die Gruppe von Eros und Psyche begegnet an dieser Stelle sonst nicht.⁶ Die Liebesgötter spielen aber auf das Geschehen an und lassen sich in verschiedene Szenen einsetzen, so auf dem wannenförmigen Endymionsarkophag in New York unter dem linken Löwenkopf,⁷ auf einer Vorderseite in Castel Gandolfo rechts des lagernden Endymion⁸ oder auch, um andere Beispiele zu nehmen, auf verschiedenen Hippolytossarkophagen.⁹ Ein weiterer Eros stand auf dem Rücken des im Relief vorderen Pferdes, wie an den Resten des linken Fußes und an dem Flügel zu erkennen ist. Er könnte eine Peitsche geschwungen haben, zu der dann der Rest oberhalb des Flügels gehören würde.¹⁰ Wegen der in diesem Teil starken Beschädigungen ist nicht mehr zu erkennen, ob ein weiterer Eros oben in der Nähe des Schleiers von Selene war und ihn vielleicht hielt.¹¹ Die Reste auf dem Grund und auf dem Baumstamm neben Aura dürften zu einem fliegenden Eros gehören.¹²

Der Wagen ist reich geschmückt, der Kasten mit Ranken, das Deichselende und die Radnabe mit einem Löwen-

kopf. Im Wagen steht eine kleine Gestalt, die auf anderen Sarkophagen keine Parallele hat (Abb. 2.11). Nach der Frisur mit einem kleinen Knoten über der Stirn und dem langen Gewand dürfte es sich um Psyche handeln, auch wenn Flügel nicht angegeben sind. Auf verschiedenen anderen Sarkophagen steht ein Eros auf dem Wagen, manchmal deutlich als Lenker.¹³

Selene setzt ihren linken Fuß auf den Erdboden. Sie trägt einen langen Chiton mit Überfall und hält einen sich bogenförmig aufbauschenden Schleier mit beiden Händen fest. Im Haar hat sie eine kleine Mondsichel (Abb. 4). Sie wird von einem Eros mit Fackel geleitet—es ist ja Nacht—und von einem weiteren Eros begleitet, der kopfüber herabfliegt und in beiden Händen eine kleine Girlande hält. Ein vergleichbarer Eros begegnet auf den übrigen Endymionsarkophagen nicht, lediglich auf zwei späten, in vielem veränderten Exemplaren;¹⁴ ein Eros mit Fackel ist über die Pferde der abfahrenden Selene auf der rechten Nebenseite des Sarkophages in New York gesetzt.¹⁵ Ein anderer Eros hebt, wie auch häufig auf anderen Sarkophagen, das Gewand des schönen Schläfers Endymion an, damit die Schönheit seines Körpers deutlich sichtbar wird. Endymion ruht in der für ihn typischen Haltung, den rechten Arm erhoben, die Hand hinter dem Kopf, mit etwas erhöhtem Oberkörper. Eine bärtige, gewandete Gottheit mit kleinen Flügeln im Haar, einem großen schmetterlingsartigen Flügel—ein zweiter ist natürlich zu ergänzen—am Rücken und geschlossenen Augen, wohl Hypnos, der Gott des Schlafes, gießt Mohnsaft aus einem Horn auf den Schläfer (Abb. 7). Mit seiner linken Hand wird er den Zweig halten, der die Trennung zur nächsten Szene gibt; er hat dicke Früchte und ist vielleicht eine Mohnstaude, die dann allerdings sehr groß geraten wäre.¹⁶ Im Hintergrund ist eine Felsangabe, auf der eine jugendliche Ortsgottheit sitzt, die wohl vor Erstaunen die rechte Hand an den Kopf legt und den linken Arm zur Seite streckt. Es dürfte sich um Latmos handeln, der auf einer ganzen Reihe von Sarkophagen wiedergegeben ist und häufig noch von einer weiblichen Ortsgottheit begleitet wird.¹⁷

Rechts ist noch eine kleine Darstellung angefügt. Selene,

5. Robert S. 55. 59 f.; in ASR III 3 S. 568 zieht er den Vorschlag zurück und nennt die Gestalt a.O. 569 "die ungedeutete Führerin der Rosse."

6. Robert 51. 58. 65. 71¹ ff.

7. Robert 83; Sichtermann, Endymion 16 Abb. 8; Verf., BJB 177, 1977, 250 Abb. 7.

8. Robert 71¹; G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (1937) 211 f. Nr. 464 Taf. 82.

9. ASR III 2, 166. 167. 168.

10. Robert 51. 71¹. 79. 88.

11. Robert 46. 50. 61. 64. 71¹. 73. 75 u.a.

12. Robert 65. 77. 79.

13. Robert 40. 42. 71¹. 83.

14. London: Robert 92; Sichtermann, Endymion 68 ff. Abb. 47 ff. (siehe dazu: K. Fittschen, GGA 221, 1969, 45 f.).—Rom. Pal. Braschi: Sichtermann, Endymion 7 ff. Abb. 1. 3.

15. Robert 83 b.—Möglicherweise hielt der Eros auf der Vorlage eine Fackel, die vom Bildhauer in eine kleine Girlande, wie man sie beim Gelage trug, umgebildet worden wäre; zu diesen 'Handgirlanden' siehe Sichtermann, Endymion 30 ff.

16. Robert 49. 50. 71¹. 72. 75 u.a.

17. Robert 58. 61. 62. 64. 65. 66. u.a.; großfigurig auf Robert 55.

wieder an ihrer kleinen Mondsichel zu erkennen, fährt auf ihrem Zweigespann nach der Liebesbegegnung nach oben. Man muß sich also vorstellen, daß das Gespann inzwischen gewendet hat. In der rechten Hand hält sie eine Fackel, ihre linke legt sie auf die Zügel. Am Boden lagert eine weibliche Gottheit, die keine Attribute hat, vielleicht Ge oder die römische Tellus, die Erde. Bei der unregelmäßig geformten, mit einigen Bohrungen versehenen Marmormasse rechts oben unterhalb der vorspringenden Leiste soll es sich wohl um Wolken handeln.

Von den Nebenseiten ist nur so viel erhalten, wie der Dicke der Vorderseite entspricht. Links steht ein Baum am rechten Rand; rechts ist das Hinterteil eines Tieres vorhanden; es könnte sich auf beiden Nebenseiten um bukolische Szenen gehandelt haben, Hirten mit ihren Tieren oder auch nur Tiere; dafür gibt es eine Reihe von Parallelen.¹⁸

Zu den einzelnen Figuren und Gruppen läßt sich eine ganze Reihe von Entsprechungen anführen. Eine völlig übereinstimmende Abfolge ist aber nicht erhalten. Es ist charakteristisch für die kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophage, daß die Kompositionen auf bestimmte Vorlagen zurückgehen; diese Vorbilder werden nun aber nicht völlig genau wiederholt, sondern in immer wieder anderer Weise abgewandelt und verändert.

Es ist nicht möglich, an Hand des Sarkophages in Malibu ausführlich die Typologie der Endymionsarkophage zu besprechen; das ist für den Band des Sarkophagcorpus vorgesehen, der in Vorbereitung ist.¹⁹ Es soll aber zumindest kurz auf die typologische Stellung des Stückes in Malibu eingegangen werden; zur Verdeutlichung wird im Anhang eine Übersicht gegeben.

Schon Carl Robert hat die Endymionsarkophage in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt. Am Anfang, auch zeitlich, steht eine Anzahl von Sarkophagen, die in einer Szene mit weit auseinander gezogenen Figuren das Ereignis schildern.²⁰ Selene steigt nach links von ihrem Wagen, dessen Pferde ruhig nach rechts gerichtet stehen. Diese Komposition ist wohl schon in späthadrianisch-frühantoninischer Zeit für die Sarkophage geschaffen worden, wie das Exemplar im Museo Capitolino in Rom²¹ zeigt, das nach

der Inschrift auf dem Deckel für ein Mädchen Gerontia benutzt worden war; es ist das früheste der Reihe und überhaupt der früheste Endymionsarkophag. Die Beispiele der mittelantoninischen Zeit, zu denen der Kasten in Kopenhagen²² gehört (Abb. 8), haben an den Seiten rahmende Eroten, die sich auf umgestürzte Fackeln stützen, ein Motiv, das nicht mit dem Mythos verbunden ist. Ob sie der ursprünglichen Komposition angehören, ist wegen der schlechten Überlieferung nicht zu sagen; derartige rahmende Figuren sind aber in mittelantoninischer Zeit besonders beliebt. Diese einszenigen Sarkophage mit der Bewegungsrichtung von Selene von rechts nach links enden schon in mittelantoninischer Zeit. Bisher ist lediglich ein einziges Exemplar bekannt geworden, das viel später die Komposition wieder aufnimmt, dann aber durch viel Beiwerk bereichert, der Sarkophag in Genua;²³ er hat großes Format, und in die Darstellung sind viele Figuren eingefügt. Zumindest schon in mittelantoninischer Zeit läßt sich eine weitere Gruppe fassen, die ungefähr die gleichen Figuren bringt, die Bewegungsrichtung aber umkehrt.²⁴ Selene steigt nach rechts von ihrem Wagen, die Pferde stehen links. Frühestes Beispiel ist ein Sarkophag in New York (Abb. 9)²⁵ Auch hier wird der Fries durch sich entsprechende Eroten gerahmt, die sich auf umgekehrte Fackeln stützen; der Hirt sitzt links, vom Geschehen abgewandt; über ihm sind, dicht zusammengedrängt, mehrere Tiere dargestellt. Fünf Eroten und eine lagernde weibliche Ortsgottheit bereichern die Hauptszene. Wenig später, aber wohl auch noch in mittelantoninischer Zeit, ist die Platte der Villa Doria Pamphili in Rom entstanden, die eine ähnliche Figurenanordnung zeigt.²⁶ Wichtigster Unterschied zur ersten Gruppe ist, außer der anderen Bewegungsrichtung, daß Endymion nicht im Schoße des Schlafgottes Hypnos, sondern auf dem Boden ruht, und der Gott stattdessen hinter ihm steht und Mohnsaft auf ihn gießt. Eine strenge Scheidung der Gruppen läßt sich allerdings nicht vornehmen, da Endymion auch auf dem Sarkophag in Kopenhagen, auf dem Selene nach links absteigt, auf einem Felsen ruht und Hypnos hinter ihm steht (Abb. 8).

Bei drei Beispielen der späten mittelantoninischen Zeit

18. Robert 39 a. 48 a., b. 56 c. 61 a., b. 63. 63 a. 71² a., b. 72 a. 75 a. 77 b.—R. Vighi, NSc 1935 Taf. 12, 3.

19. siehe oben Anm. 2—Zur Problematik der Einteilung von Robert: Sichtermann, Endymion 90 Anm. 172. 94 f.

20. Robert 39—49. ASR III 3 S. 568 Nr. 41¹; R. Calza—E. Nash, Ostia (1959) 77 Taf. 109.

21. Robert 40; Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 35, 1. 36. 37.

22. Robert 49; F. Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains (1942) Taf. 23, 2; Verf. BJB 177, 253 Abb. 9.

23. F. Gerke, Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit (1940) Taf. 11, 2.

24. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphili: Robert 50; R. Calza u.a., Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili (1977) 150 f. Nr. 179 Taf. 112, 179 a.—New York: Sichtermann, Endymion 73 Abb. 50; G. M. A. Richter, MetrMusJ 3, 1970, 81 Abb. 15; E. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making (1977) Abb. 34.—Erst in das 3. Jh.—und dann wohl zu einem einszenigen Sarkophag—gehört das Fragment in Rom, Via del Corso 525, mit steigenden Pferden: Sichtermann, Endymion 91 mit Anm. 175, Abb. 56.

25. Richter a.O. Abb. 15; G. Mancini, NSc 1920, 218 ff. Abb. 1; F. Matz, BMetrMus 15, 1956/57, 127 mit Abb.

26. Robert 50.



Abb. 4. Sarkophagplatte in Malibu, Kopf der Selene.



Abb. 5. Hippolytossarkophag im Vatikan, Köpfe von Phaidra und Dienerin.



Abb. 6. Sarkophagplatte in Malibu, Kopf des Hirten.



Abb. 7. Sarkophagplatte in Malibu, Kopf des Hypnos.



Abb. 8. Endymionsarkophag. Kopenhagen.



Abb. 9. Endymionsarkophag. New York.



Abb. 10. Vorderseite eines Endymionsarkophages. Paris.



Abb. 11. Vorderseite eines Endymionsarkophages. Malibu.

sind die Gestalten enger zusammengeschoben, und es ist links noch eine weitere Szene eingefügt, nämlich die Abfahrt der Selene nach ihrem Besuch bei Endymion.²⁷ Auf zweien dieser Sarkophage, einem Kasten im Museo Capitolino in Rom und einer Vorderseite in Mantua,²⁸ wird deutlich, daß diese abfahrende Selene an die ursprüngliche Komposition angefügt worden ist, da der Hirte mit seinen Tieren und die Geländeangabe an ihrer alten Stelle geblieben sind. Eine vergleichbare Bereicherung der Darstellung findet sich auch bei etwa gleichzeitigen Sarkophagen mit anderen Themen und scheint charakteristisch für die Zeit zu sein.

Dieser Typus ist aber wohl nicht als sehr befriedigend empfunden worden, es sind nur zwei spätere Exemplare bekannt. Eine Vorderseite in Paris (Abb. 10)²⁹ könnte aus der Zeit um oder kurz nach 200 n. Chr. stammen, der Kasten im Palazzo Borghese in Rom³⁰ wohl aus dem ersten Viertel des 3. Jhs. Das zweite Beispiel kann auch einen Hinweis geben, warum diese Art der Komposition keinen Anklang gefunden hat. Man war nämlich offensichtlich bemüht—wie sich das auch auf anderen Sarkophagen nachweisen läßt—, für den Fries eine betonte Mitte zu finden. Auf den einszenigen Sarkophagen bietet sich das Gespann mit Selene dafür an. Nun, bei stärkerer Füllung des Frieses und Einfügung einer weiteren Gruppe, rückte das Gespann mit Selene ganz auf die rechte Seite. Auf dem Sarkophag im Palazzo Borghese ist die bukolische Szene links so ausgestaltet, daß nun die abfahrende Selene Zentrum des Frieses ist. Das ist aber eigentlich eine nebensächliche Szene, das Hauptereignis, der Besuch Selenes bei Endymion, wird auf diese Weise recht zusammengedrängt. Um 200 n. Chr.—das Datum läßt sich wegen der schlechten Erhaltung der Sarkophage nicht sichern—gab es einen anderen Versuch; die Abfahrt der Selene wurde an den rechten Rand verlegt. Frühestes Beispiel scheint eine stark beschädigte Platte im Casino Pallavicini des Palazzo Rospi-

gliosi in Rom zu sein, die aber typologisch viele Besonderheiten bringt.³¹ Wenig später ist die ebenfalls schlecht erhaltene Platte der Villa Doria Pamphilj in Rom (Abb. 12)³² entstanden, bei der nun das Hauptereignis, der Besuch Selenes bei Endymion, die betonte Mitte bildet, während der linke Teil von einem Hirten mit seinen Tieren und einer weiblichen Ortsgottheit, der rechte Teil von einer weiteren Szene, der abfahrenden Selene gefüllt ist, die eng zusammengeschoben ist. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören auch ein nur in Resten erhaltener Wannensarkophag in Arles³³ und außerdem die hier behandelte Vorderseite in Malibu (Abb. 11).

Auch dieser Typus konnte sich nicht durchsetzen. Er war nämlich nur für niedrige, langgestreckte Kästen geeignet, wie sie noch am Anfang des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. üblich waren. Im Verlaufe der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. gewannen die Kästen aber zunehmend an Höhe, die Gestalten wurden massiger und enger aneinander geschoben. So wurde die Abfahrt der Selene wieder von der Vorderseite verdrängt, und zwar in vielen Beispielen auf die rechte Nebenseite,³⁴ in einigen anderen auch nur nach oben in die rechte Ecke der Vorderseite.³⁵ Eine einszenige Darstellung mit im Laufe der Zeit größer werdenden Figuren nahm die ganze Fläche ein. Kann der einszenige Sarkophag in Pisa³⁶ mit seiner lockeren Verteilung der Figuren noch als später Vertreter der frühen Gruppe angesehen werden, so setzt dann mit den Sarkophagen in Tarquinia (Abb. 13), in Castel Gandolfo und im Palazzo Farnese in Rom³⁷ eine Entwicklung ein, die über die Beispiele in Frascati, New York, Rom, Museo Nazionale, Paris, Rom, San Paolo, und Assisi³⁸ zu den großartigen und großformatigen Darstellungen in Cliveden, in Woburn Abbey und im Palazzo Doria in Rom (Abb. 14)³⁹ führen. Einen vereinzelt späten Vertreter hat diese Gruppe in dem stark fragmentierten Sarkophag der Domitillakatakomben in Rom⁴⁰ aus der Zeit um 300 n. Chr.

27. Robert 61. 62. 64.

28. Rom, Mus. Cap.: Robert 61; T. Kraus, *Das römische Weltreich* (1967) Taf. 238.—Mantua: Robert 62; A. Levi, *Sculture Greche e Romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (1931) 96 Nr. 194 Taf. 113 b.

29. Robert 65.

30. ASR III 3 S. 569 Nr. 65.¹

31. Robert 55.

32. Robert 58; R. Calza u.a., a. 0. (siehe oben Anm. 24) 151 f. Nr. 180 Taf. 112, 180.

33. Verf. Bjb 177, 1977, 245 ff.

34. Robert 72 b. 75 b. 80¹ b. 83 b. R. Vighi, NSc 1935 Taf. 12, 2.

35. Robert 77. 79. 80. 80.¹

36. Robert 53; P. Arias—E. Cristiani—E. Gabba, *Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa. Le Antichità* (1977) 57 f. Nr. A 7 est Taf. 7, 10.

37. Tarquinia: Robert 51; W.N. Schumacher, *Hirt und 'Guter Hirt'* (1977) Taf. 9 a.—Castel Gandolfo: Robert 71¹ siehe oben Anm.

8.—Rom, Pal. Farnese: Robert 75; R. Turcan, RA 1962, 1, 210 Abb.

7.—Hier vielleicht anzuschließen die Fragmente in Lyon, Turcan a.0. 199 ff. (In der Rekonstruktionszeichnung a.0. 212 Abb. 8 ist der Kasten wohl zu hoch ergänzt).

38. Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini: Robert 73 und 74; InstNegRom 77. 189 u.a.—New York: Robert 83; siehe oben Anm. 7.—Rom, NM: R. Vighi, NSc 1935, 245 ff. Taf. 12.—Paris: Robert 72; F. Matz, ein römisches Meisterwerk (JdI—EH 19, 1958) Taf. 23.—Rom, S. Paolo: Robert 81.—Assisi: Robert 80.¹—Die Stücke in Rom, NM, und Rom, Pal. Farnese (siehe Anm. 37) können wohl nicht miteinander verbunden werden, da sie in Relieftiefe, Körperlichkeit der Figuren, Zergliederung der Gewänder und Aufbohrung der Haare große Unterschiede zeigen (B. Andreae—H. Jung, 11 1977 Faltblatt nach S. 434).

39. Cliveden: Robert 80; C. Robert, JHS 20, 1900, 82 ff. Taf. 7 d.—Woburn Abbey: Robert 79; Matz a.0. (siehe oben Anm. 38) Taf. 35 b.—Rom, Pal. Doria: Robert 77; Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 35, 2. 38 ff.; R. Calza u.a., (siehe oben Anm. 24) 152 ff. Nr. 182 Taf. 113.

40. Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 42 f.



Abb. 12. Vorderseite eines Endymionsarkophages. Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj.



Abb. 13. Endymionsarkophag. Tarquinia.



Abb. 14. Endymionsarkophag. Rom, Palazzo Doria.

ANHANG: TYPOLOGISCHE GLIEDERUNG DER ENDYMIONSARKOPHAGE⁷³

	EINSZENIG ←	EINSZENIG →	ZWEISZENIG ←→	ZWEISZENIG →→
–150	Mus. Capit. 40 Vatikan 48			
150–170/80	Kopenhagen 49 Pal. Rosp. 39 S. Cosimato 41 Pal. Rosp. 47 Neapel 46 Vatikan 42	New York (s.Anm. 24) V. Doria Pamph. 50	Mantua 62 Mus. Capit. 61	
170/80–200		Pisa 53	München 64	Pal. Rosp. 55
200–220/30		Tarquinia 51 Castel Gandolfo 71 ¹ Pal. Farnese 75 Lyon (s.Anm. 37) Frascati 73/74 New York 83 Rom, NM (Sichterm. 88/89) Rom NM (s.Anm. 38)	Paris 65 Pal. Borghese 65 ¹	Malibu Arles (s.Anm. 33) V. Doria Pamph. 58
220/30–250	Genua (s.Anm. 23)	Paris 72 Assisi 80 ¹ S. Paolo 81 Cliveden 80 Woburn Abbey 79		
gallienisch		Pal. Doria 77		
nach- gallienisch				
tetrarchisch		Domitilla (s.Anm. 40)		
weitere Vertreter des Typus	Ostia 41 ¹ Verschollen 43	Neapel 71 ² Pal. Giustiniani 78 Verschollen 84 Verschollen 86 Cimitile (Sichtermann 77)		

In der Übersicht ist versucht worden, die wichtigsten Sarkophage nach ihrer zeitlichen und typologischen Stellung zu ordnen. Unter den nicht aufgenommenen Fragmenten bringt lediglich ein einziges eine typologische Besonderheit, ein Stück in Berlin,⁴¹ das auch wegen des Stils und wegen der Ornamentleiste am oberen Rand aus den übrigen Sarkophagen herausfällt.

Um für die Vorderseite in Malibu eine Datierung vorschlagen zu können, ist es notwendig, sie mit annähernd festgelegten anderen Sarkophagen zu vergleichen, da sie keine Hinweise, wie beispielsweise einen Porträtkopf, hat. Folgende Merkmale sind für das Stück charakteristisch: es ist ein niedriger, langgestreckter Kasten; die zahlreichen Figuren drängen sich dicht, sind sehr in die Länge gezogen, haben eckig gebrochene Bewegungen und recht kleine Köpfe; die Gewänder sind kleinteilig aufgelöst, die Falten wirken aber wie erstarrt, sie sind nicht zu krassen Hell-Dunkel-Wirkungen aufgerissen; in Gesichtern und Haaren ist der Bohrer nur zurückhaltend eingesetzt; die Brauen sind ganz zart eingeritzt. Gleiche Merkmale finden sich nicht—oder nicht in einer derartigen Häufung—in mittelantoninischer Zeit,⁴² auch nicht im späten 2. Jh.,⁴³ ferner nicht im zweiten Viertel des 3. Jhs.⁴⁴ oder gar noch später. Auch wenn man beträchtliche Werkstattunterschiede zwischen einzelnen Sarkophagen berücksichtigt,⁴⁵ bleibt für die Vorderseite in Malibu nur das erste Viertel des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. als Entstehungszeit. Vergleichen lassen sich der Hippolytos und der Adonissarkophag im Vatikan,⁴⁶ die zusammen in einem Grabbau gefunden worden sind und vielleicht aus einer Werkstatt stammen. Auf dem Adonissarkophag haben die in der mittleren Szene

sitzenden Aphrodite und Adonis Porträtköpfe, die in die Zeit um 220 n. Chr. datiert werden können.⁴⁷ Der Hippolytossarkophag (Abb. 3 und 5) ist etwas früher entstanden, vielleicht um 210 n. Chr., da in Gesichtern und Haaren der Bohrer weniger stark eingesetzt worden ist und die Gewänder nicht ganz so verhärtet sind.⁴⁸ Eng verwandt mit dem Stück in Malibu ist auch der Sarkophag in St. Peter in Rom, der Dionysos auf dem Kentaurenwagen, die schlafende Ariadne und im rechten Teil den Tod des Pentheus zeigt.⁴⁹ Auch damit käme man wieder ins frühe 3. Jh.⁵⁰ Kürzlich ist von B. Andreae und H. Jung der Versuch gemacht worden, verschiedene Sarkophagwerkstätten im 3. Jh. voneinander abzusetzen; wenn vielleicht auch manche Vorschläge noch diskutiert werden können, so spricht doch vieles dafür, den Hippolytossarkophag im Vatikan und den Pentheussarkophag in St. Peter derselben Werkstatt zuzuweisen;⁵¹ zumindest die Sarkophage mit Meerwesen in Bloomington und Cagliari⁵² und der mit Hirschjagd in Civitavecchia⁵³ stehen diesen Stücken sehr nahe. Die Platte mit Endymion in Malibu ist hier wohl anzuschließen. Ähnlich sind die langgezogenen, wie zerbrechlich wirkenden Gestalten, der Faltenwurf bei dem Chiton der Aura (Abb. 1) und beim Überfall der Selene (Abb. 2) und beim Chiton der Virtus (Abb. 3), die Art, wie das rechte Bein bei der sitzenden Phaidra und wie beide Beine bei Selene durch das dünne, eng anliegende Gewand hindurchscheinen und schließlich die Wiedergabe der Köpfe, beispielsweise die der Selene (Abb. 4) und der sitzenden Phaidra oder der Dienerin bei ihr (Abb. 5). Der großartige Endymionsarkophag in New York⁵⁴ könnte, wie B. Andreae und H. Jung vorschla-

41. Robert 89; O. Thulin, RM 44, 1929, 235 ff. Abb. 10 f.

42. In diese Phase ist beispielsweise aufgrund der Porträts und der Inschrift der Alkestissarkophag im Vatikan zu datieren: Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 16, 17, 2. 18 f. Viele andere Exemplare lassen sich anschließen; vergleiche K. Fittschen, JdI 85, 1970, 171 ff.; zu den Phasen besonders 189 ff., zu den Endymionsarkophagen 191 Anm. 75.

43. Charakteristische Beispiele sind der Meleagersarkophag in Perugia: Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 112, 2. 114 ff.; der Medeasarkophag in Basel: M. Schmidt, Der Basler Medeasarkophag (1968) Taf. 1 ff.; der Schlachtsarkophag von Portonaccio: F. Matz, Ein römisches Meisterwerk (JdI-EH 19, 1958) Taf. 38; R. Brilliant, Roman Art (1974) 101 Fig. II 18.

44. Vertreter der Phase sind der Amazonensarkophag im Belvedere des Vatikan: Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 26, 2. 27 f. und die Stücke, die sich derselben Werkstatt zuweisen lassen (vergleiche dazu die Tabelle bei B. Andreae—H. Jung, AA 1977, Faltafel nach S. 434); der Persephonesarkophag im Mus. Cap. in Rom: Sichtermann-Koch Taf. 148, 1. 151, 2—3. 152 ff.; der Balbinussarkophag im Museum der Prätexat—Katakomben: T. Kraus, Das römische Weltreich (1967) Taf. 243. R. Brilliant, Roman Art (1974) 96 Fig. II 10.

45. Die Erforschung der Werkstätten kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage steht erst am Anfang; bisher hat man keine Vorstellung, welche Variationsbreite bei einer Werkstatt möglich ist. So schreibt beispielsweise K. Fittschen, Der Meleagersarkophag. Liebieghaus Monographie 1 (Frankfurt 1975) 28 f. Anm. 41 eine große Gruppe von Prunksarkophagen der gal-

lienischen Zeit einer einzigen und damit sehr bedeutenden Werkstatt zu, während B. Andreae und H. Jung, AA 1977 Tabelle nach S. 434 mehrere von ihnen auf zwei Werkstätten verteilen und andere gar nicht berücksichtigen; H. Jung sieht in zwei Hauptstücken, die von ihm verschiedenen Werkstätten zugewiesen werden, „stilistische Unterschiede grundsätzlicher Art,“ aber in einigen Zügen auch „eine verblüffende Ähnlichkeit“ (a.O. 436 Anm. 300).

46. Adonis: T. Kraus, Das römische Weltreich (1967) Taf. 240; B. Andreae, Römische Kunst (1973) Abb. 583; Sichtermann—Koch Taf. 10, 2. 12 ff.—Hippolytos: B. Andreae a.O. Abb. 581; Sichtermann—Koch Taf. 59, 2. 60 f.; M. Lawrence in: In Memoriam O. J. Brendel (1976) 174 ff. Taf. 43 a (mit zu früher Datierung 185—195 n. Chr.).

47. Helbig⁴ I 1120 (B. Andreae). Sichtermann—Koch Taf. 14.

48. Helbig⁴ I 1121 (B. Andreae). Sichtermann—Koch 34 f. Nr. 27 Taf. 59, 2. B. Andreae—H. Jung, AA 1977 Faltafel nach S. 434.

49. F. Matz, ASR IV 2, 159 Taf. 174, 1. 176—179.

50. B. Andreae—H. Jung, AA 1977 Faltafel nach S. 434 setzen den Pentheussarkophag um 210/20 n. Chr., während ihn F. Matz noch zwischen 170 und 180 n. Chr. datiert.

51. siehe Anm. 50; die Werkstatt ist mit □ bezeichnet.

52. Bloomington: H. Sichtermann, AA 1970, 217 f. Nr. 2. Abb. 4 ff. Cagliari: G. Pesce, Sarcophagi Romani di Sardegna (1957) 23 ff. Nr. 2 Abb. 4 ff.

gen,⁵⁵ zur gleichen Werkstatt gehören, müßte dann aber doch wohl wegen der stärkeren Zergliederung der Gewänder und weiteren Auflockerung der Haare zeitlich deutlicher vom Hippolytossarkophag abgesetzt werden. Die dionysischen Sarkophage in Baltimore und im Vatikan,⁵⁶ die innerhalb ihrer Gruppe ins frühe 3. Jh. anzusetzen sind, lassen sich zumindest für die Datierung der Platte in Malibu heranziehen.⁵⁷ Unter den Endymionsarkophagen führen der Kasten im Museo Nazionale in Rom,⁵⁸ das typologisch aus dem Rahmen fallende Stück in Sao Paolo in Rom⁵⁹ und der prächtige, aus der Nähe von Bordeaux stammende, Sarkophag in Paris⁶⁰ über die Vorderseite in Malibu hinaus. Sie wird also im frühen 3. Jh., vielleicht, um ein Datum zu nennen, um 210 n. Chr. entstanden sein.

In ihrem Stil sind dem Exemplar in Malibu die Endymionsarkophage in Paris (Abb. 10),⁶¹ Rom, Villa Doria Pamphilj (Abb. 12),⁶² Tarquinia (Abb. 13),⁶³ Rom, Palazzo Farnese,⁶⁴ und Castel Gandolfo⁶⁵ verwandt. Die Ähnlichkeiten gehen allerdings nur bei der Vorderseite der Villa Doria Pamphilj in Rom (Abb. 12)⁶⁶ so weit, daß man vielleicht auf Werkstattzusammenhang schließen kann; allerdings ist diese so schlecht erhalten, daß sich Gewißheit kaum erzielen läßt; sie hat höheres Format, die Figuren sind größer und die Mittelszene, die absteigende Selene

und ihr Wagengespann, werden betont, so daß sie wohl etwas später als das Stück in Malibu zu datieren ist.

Bisher sind etwa 100 Endymionsarkophage bekannt. Bis auf ein Exemplar, das von der Westküste Kleinasien kommt,⁶⁷ stammen alle aus Rom oder aus Gebieten, die von Rom abhängen.⁶⁸ Ein Fragment wird in Athen genannt, es läßt sich aber nicht nachprüfen, ob es sich tatsächlich um eines von einem Endymionsarkophag gehandelt hat;⁶⁹ ferner wird von einem Fragment in Istanbul berichtet,⁷⁰ aber auch dort ist es unsicher, ob es zu einem Endymionsarkophag gehörte. In Rom war dieses Thema von etwa 140 bis um 300 n. Chr. beliebt.⁷¹

Die Vorderseite in Malibu gehört in die verhältnismäßig stille Phase der kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophage im frühen 3. Jh., die zwischen den aufgewühlten und bewegten Stücken des späten 2. Jhs. und den hohen, großfigurigen und belebten Beispielen des zweiten Viertels des 3. Jhs. liegt und die sich in gewisser Weise an die mittelantoninische Zeit anschließt.⁷² Die Platte ist ein charakteristisches und recht gut gearbeitetes Exemplar dieser Zeit und könnte, wenn unsere Überlegungen richtig sind, zu einer der führenden Werkstätten kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. gehören; so erhielt sie eine besondere Bedeutung.

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53. Verf., AA 1974, 620 Abb. 8 (rechter Teil); Gesamtaufnahme: *InstNegRom* 72. 551.

54. siehe oben Anm. 7.

55. siehe oben Anm. 50.

56. Baltimore: F. Matz, *ASR* IV 3, 216 Taf. 225, 1. 226 f. 228, 1. Vatikan: Matz a.O. 218 Taf. 232, 2. 236. 237, 1.

57. B. Andreae und H. Jung schreiben diesen Sarkophag ebenfalls derselben Werkstatt zu.

58. siehe oben Anm. 38.

59. Robert 81.

60. siehe oben Anm. 38.

61. Robert 65.

62. Robert 58.

63. siehe oben Anm. 37.

64. Robert 75.

65. siehe oben Anm. 8.

66. Robert 58.

67. F. Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit* (1940) Taf. 54, 1. H. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische Saulensarkophage* (*IstForsch* 26, 1965) 179 Nr. 40. Das Stück gehört nicht zu den sogenannten pamphyliischen Friessarkophagen, sondern ist wohl an der

Westküste, vielleicht in Ephesos, möglicherweise in Anlehnung an stadtrömische Vorbilder, geschaffen worden.

68. Die meisten sind stadtrömisch; Robert 72² könnte campanisch sein, ebenfalls der Kasten in Cimitile, Sichtermann, *Endymion* 77 Abb. 52; provinziell ist möglicherweise auch Robert 80¹.

69. Vorhof der Akropolis: L.v.Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen* (1881) 280 Nr. 3900: "0.40. 0.24. Relief (rings ab) (Sarkophag?), oben Rest des Sims; Frau (ab Kopf und Arme), Rock mit gegürt. Ueber-schlag, Mantel flatternd, steigt n. r. herab (von einem Wagen?) Heyd. 710 (Selene den Endymion besuchend)." H. Heydemann, *Die antiken Marmor-Bildwerke zu Athen* (1874) 255 Nr. 710.

70. Robert 87. Von J. Spon im Jahre 1678 in Istanbul, Yedikule, beschrieben.

71. Es stellt sich die Frage, aus welchen Gründen sich die Römer Darstellungen dieser Sage so oft für ihre Sarkophage ausgesucht haben; da wir keine literarischen Hinweise haben, ist eine Antwort kaum zu geben; vergleiche die Ausführungen von H. Sichtermann in *Sichtermann—Koch* 11.

72. Zu Sarkophagen dieser Phase jetzt auch: H. Jung, *Jdl* 93, 1978, 328 ff.—Zu Sarkophagen der mittelantoninischen und frühseverischen Phasen jetzt auch: P. Kranz, *BullCom* 84, 1974/75, 173 ff.

73. Die Zahlen in der Tabelle sind die Nummern der Sarkophage bei Robert; Sichtermann = Sichtermann, *Endymion*.

RESUMÉ

The front panel of the sarcophagus (inv. 76.AA.8) in The J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu (Fig. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11) belongs to the big group of city Roman sarcophagi with the representation of the myth of Selene and Endymion (notes 1 and 2). On typological grounds one can discern several groups of these sarcophagi (see list in the appendix). The piece in Malibu belongs to a small group, which shows Selene visiting the sleeping Endymion, and also, at the right, the departure of Selene after their meeting. According to the style, the sarcophagus may be dated in the first quarter of the third century A.D., presumably about 210 A.D. A close parallel is the Hippolytos sarcophagus in the Vatican (note 46; Fig. 3 and 5), which is to be dated at the same time. On

the Adonis sarcophagus (notes 46 and 47), also in the Vatican, which was found in the same grave building as the Hippolytos sarcophagus, the figures in the middle scene, Adonis and Aphrodite, have portrait heads; they give a date of about 220 A.D. The Hippolytos sarcophagus and also the panel in Malibu are about a decade earlier. These three pieces, and the Pentheus sarcophagus in St. Peter's in Rome (note 49) and some other sarcophagi like the Nereid fragment in Bloomington (note 52), seem to be from the same workshop (notes 50 and 51), one of the leading workshops of Roman sarcophagi in the first half of the third century A.D.

Zur syrischen Plastik der römischen Kaiserzeit

Die reichen Bestände des J. Paul Getty Museums enthalten auch bemerkenswerte Zeugnisse der Kunst aus den östlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum. Sie sind bisher z.T. unpubliziert oder wurden nur vorläufig und an entlegener Stelle bekannt gemacht. Ihre Veröffentlichung an dieser Stelle gibt darüber hinaus Gelegenheit, einige Fragen von allgemeiner Bedeutung zu erörtern. Da die einzelnen Stücke ganz verschiedenen Gattungen angehören, bietet sich die Besprechung in Form einzelner Kurzbeiträge an. Jiří Frel hatte dies im Herbst 1979 anlässlich eines mehrtägigen Aufenthaltes in Malibu angeregt und meine Arbeit in jeder Hinsicht großzügig gefördert.

1) DOPPELRELIEF MIT ZWEI MÄNNERBÜSTEN¹

In einer oben halbrund abgeschlossenen Nische sind die Brustbilder zweier Männer dargestellt. Sie sind etwas schräg einander zugewandt, wobei der Mann rechts seine rechte Hand auf die rechte Schulter des anderen legt. Beide halten kleine Diptychen in den Händen. Die glatten Seitenflächen des Nischenrahmens zeigten ursprünglich vielleicht in Malerei eine Ädikula-Einfassung mit Pilastern. Das Relief als solches war auf alle Fälle ursprünglich bemalt, wodurch noch zusätzliche Einzelheiten dargestellt werden konnten.

Über des familiäre Verhältnis der beiden Männer belehrt uns die z.T. stark bestoßene Inschrift, die sich folgendermaßen lesen läßt:

ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝ ΧΡΗΣ ΞΑΝΘΕ
ΤΕ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙ

Xanthion, du wacke- Xanthos (Vokativ)
rer, vaterlandsliebender

Der bärtige Mann links ist demnach als Sohn der jüngere von beiden Dargestellten. Sein Bart ist offensichtlich nur

modisch bedingt. Er empfiehlt als jüngstes Element des Reliefs eine Datierung in frühantoninische Zeit, etwa um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Der rechte Mann—sein Vater—folgt mit seiner Bartlosigkeit der Mode seiner Jünglingsjahre trajanischer Zeit; auch die Physiognomie zeigt unverkennbar gewisse Züge der Bildnisse dieser Periode. Gleichzeitig mit diesem Relief wurde in London das Gegenstück, ein Relief mit zwei weiblichen Büsten, versteigert.² Es ist leider in andere Hände gelangt; z.Zt. befindet es sich bei einem Kunsthändler in Regensburg.

Beide Reliefs gehören zu einer Gattung, die erst durch zahlreiche Funde der letzten 12–15 Jahre besser bekannt geworden ist. Die meisten Exemplare kommen aus Belkis (Seleukeia am Euphrat), d.h. aus dem heute zur Türkei gehörenden Teil der antiken Provinz Syria Kyrrhestike. Zahlreiche Reliefs dieser Herkunft in verschiedenen Lokalmuseen hat J. Wagner in seiner umfassenden Monographie über diese Stadt erstmals veröffentlicht.³ Einige der besten Stücke sind schon vorher durch den internationalen Kunsthandel in verschiedene europäische und amerikanische Museen gelangt. Diverse ältere Funde aus Membidj (Hierapolis) bezeugen eine gewisse geographische Streuung dieser Reliefs. Mehrere gute Beispiele befinden sich in den Museen von Damaskus und Aleppo.⁴

Es verdient, besonders hervorgehoben zu werden, daß wir von einem anderen Platz in den syrischen Provinzen und ihrer Nachbargebiete, was den ausgeprägten Porträtcharakter der besseren Grabreliefs anbetrifft, keine vergleichbaren Exemplare kennen. Unter den zahllosen Grabbüsten Palmyras sind echte Porträts, auch unter den künstlerisch hochwertigeren Reliefs, ausgesprochen selten.

2) PORTRÄTKOPF EINER GRABSTATUE⁵

Diese Skulptur läßt sich einer zahlenmäßig recht be-

1. Inv. 71.AA.282; 80,0 x 67,3 cm.; Tiefe 25,5 cm. C. C. Vermeule (-N. Neuerburg), *Cat. of the Ancient Art* . . . (1973) 39 Nr. 87, Abb.; J. Frel, *Selected Works* . . . J. P. Getty Mus., Ausst.-Kat. Pennsylvania State Univ. 29.5–20.7. 1971, Nr. 20, Tafel ("1. Hälfte 3. Jh."); Auktionskatalog Sotheby & Co. London 1.7.1969, 85 Nr. 166, Abb. K. Parlasca, *Proceedings of the Xth Internat. Congress of Classical Archaeology Ankara-Izmir 1976* (1978) 308 Taf. 84, 7 ("antoninisch"); J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Mus. A Checklist 2* (1979) 31 Nr. V 57. [The reading ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝ is proposed by Georges Daux.]

2. Auktionskat. Sotheby a.O. 85 Nr. 165, Abb.; Parlasca, *Proceedings* a.O. 308 Taf. 84, 6.

3. J. Wagner, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zugma* (1976) 161ff. 173ff. 222ff. Taf. 34. 42–53.

4. Diese durchweg unpublizierten Reliefs beabsichtige ich in anderem Zusammenhang zu behandeln.

5. Inv. 71.AA.272; H. = 29 cm; Vermeule-Neuerburg a.O. 40 Nr. 89



Abb. 1. Doppelrelief mit zwei Männerbüsten. Malibu.



Abb. 3. & 4. Porträtkopf einer Grabstatue. Malibu.

grenzten Gruppe von Rundplastiken zuordnen, von der sich ganzfigurige Exemplare—meistens Sitzstatuen—in den Museen zu Aleppo⁶ und Damaskus⁷ befinden. Keine von ihnen stammt aber aus einem archäologisch dokumentierten Kontext. Allgemein gilt Membidj als Fundort, von wo—wie erwähnt—auch verschiedene Grabreliefs der unter Nr. 1) besprochenen Gruppe kommen. In der Erstveröffentlichung wird der vorliegende Kopf als Fragment eines Reliefs bezeichnet. Der Klotz im Nacken ist jedoch bei Statuen dieser Gruppe mehrfach zu beobachten.^{7a} Er hat nichts mit Reliefgrund zu tun. Er hat vielmehr dieselbe Schutzfunktion gegen ein Abbrechen des Kopfes wie die Rückenpfiler bei ägyptischen Statuen. Dieses Bildnis ist in seiner überraschenden Ausdruckstärke eines der künstlerisch bedeutendsten Beispiele dieser Serie. Seine Datierung ist nicht ganz leicht. Vermeule dachte bei seiner Einordnung in das späte 3. Jahrhundert offensichtlich an Porträts der tetrarchischen Zeit, bei denen jedoch

mit 2 Abb.; Auktionskatalog Sotheby London 1. July 1969, 105 Nr. 248 mit Abb. gegenüber S.58.

6. Inv. 5064 (stehende Frau) und Inv. 6295 (sitzender Mann), beide im Hof des Museums; unpubliziert.

7. Inv. 8983 und 8983^{bis} (Sitzstatuen eines Mannes und einer Frau): B. Zouhdi, *Mus. Nat. de Damas—Dépt. des Ant. Syr. aux époques grecque . . .* (1976) 151 Abb. 55. 56 (Separatausgabe des Katalogs von 1969); Parlasca, *Proceedings* 308.

7^a. J. Inan-E Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Röm. und frühbyzant. Portratplastik aus der Türkei*. Neue Funde (1979) S.3 und passim.



Abb. 2. Doppelrelief mit zwei Frauenbüsten. Kunsthandel.

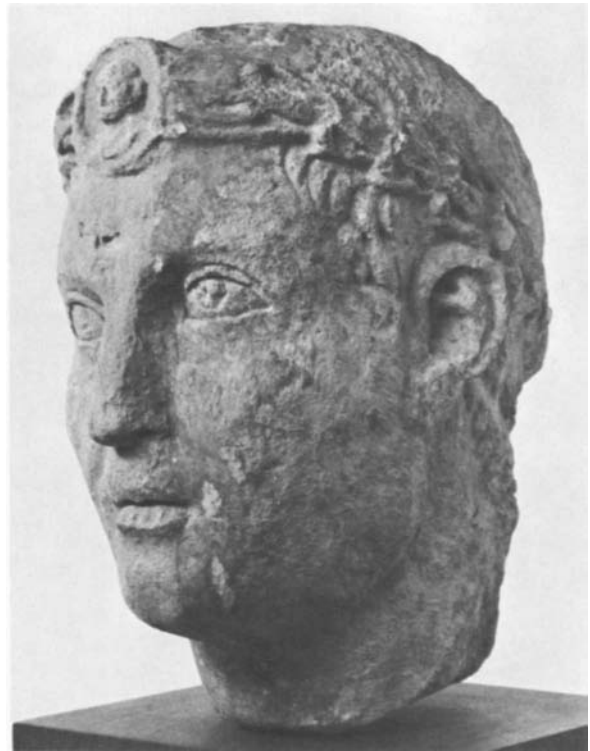


Abb. 5. & 6. Proträtkopf einer Grabstatue. Brooklyn.

an sich ein Bart zu erwarten ist. Die starke, durch eine entsprechende Bohrung der Iris akzentuierte Blickintensität unterscheidet sich deutlich von der hieratischen Strenge tetrarchischer Porträts. Dabei ist auch die leichte Neigung des Kopfes zu seiner linken Seite zu beachten. Deshalb neige ich eher zu einer Datierung in das späte 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Der Verwendungszweck der mutmaßlichen Sitzstatue ist nicht sicher zu bestimmen, doch scheint es sich auch bei dem Kopf in Malibu um das Fragment einer Grabstatue zu handeln. Der gute Erhaltungszustand wirft die Frage auf, ob diese nicht wenigstens teilweise in den gleichen unterirdischen Grabanlagen aufgestellt waren, aus denen die Büstenreliefs stammen.

Auch in anderen Museen der USA befinden sich verschiedene Beispiele von Skulpturen der Belkis-Gruppe. Zwei Büstenreliefs im Besitz der Columbia University, New York,⁸ bzw. im Brooklyn Museum⁹ habe ich in zwei

früheren Beiträgen analysiert. Später wurde ein Relief mit einer weiblichen Büste vom Museum of Art and Archaeology in Columbia (Missouri) erworben;¹⁰ es ist inschriftlich in das Jahr 96/97 n. Chr. datiert.

Zwei weitere Reliefs im Museum of Fine Arts in Boston fallen etwas aus dem Rahmen der geläufigen Typen. Zu dem Relief mit einem stehenden Knaben¹¹ gibt es nur einige wenige Parallelen mit Darstellung der Toten in ganzer Figur.¹² Das andere Relief zeigt zwei antithetische Adler auf einem niedrigen Korb.¹³ Hierbei handelt es sich um das bei weitem qualitativste Exemplar einer großen Serie konventioneller Adler-Stelen.¹⁴

Der bemerkenswerte, leicht überlebensgroße Kopf einer Priesterstatue im Brooklyn Museum gehört nach Stil und Material ebenfalls zu dieser Gruppe.¹⁵ Der bartlose, etwas nach seiner rechten Seite geneigte Kopf zeigt auffallend regelmäßige Züge, die eine gewisse Idealisierung verraten.

8. Inv. S-506.68; Parlasca, AA 1967, 560 ff. Abb. 12 (Bibliogr.); ders., *Brooklyn Mus. Annual* 11, 1969/70, 171 Anm. 5; ders., *Proceedings* 307.

9. Inv. 69.34; Parlasca, *Brooklyn* 169ff. Abb. 1.2; ders., *Proceedings* 306 Taf. 82, 2; Künzl, *JbRömGermZentralmus.* 19, 1972 [1974], 183f. Taf. 19.

10. Inv. 70.19; Auktionskat. Christie's London 24.2.1970, Nr. 62 Taf. 11; *Art Journal* 30, 1970, 58, *Muse* 5, 1971, 5 mit Abb. ("3rd.c."); Parlasca, *Proceedings* 307.

11. Inv. 1971.424; M. B. Comstock—C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* . . . MFA (1976) 231 Nr. 363, Abb.—Der Schluß der Inschrift ist $\Lambda\Omega\Phi\epsilon$ $\chi\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon$ zu lesen, wobei $\Omega\Phi$ und $\iota\pi$ flüchtig ligiert sind.

12. Vgl. J. Wagner a.O. Typentafel Abb. 19 nach S. 160, Taf. 39 Nr. 69 und 76 sowie Taf. 42 Nr. 83 und 84.

13. Inv. 68.582; C. C. Vermeule, *Class. Journal* 65, 1969/70, 64ff. Abb. 13; Parlasca, *Proceedings* 305; *Greek and Roman Sculpture from the Boston MFA*, Ausst.-Kat. Corpus Christi Art Mus. 7.2–25.5. 1975, Nr. 16, Tafel ("Votivrelief"); Comstock—Vermeule a.O. 183 Nr. 294, Abb.

14. J. Wagner a.O. Taf. 29–44.

15. Inv. 71.36. Photographien und die Publikationserlaubnis verdanke ich B. V. Bothmer.



Abb. 7. Götterrelief aus Basalt. Malibu.

Das kurzgeloockte Haar ist nur unterhalb des kranzartigen Diadems ausgearbeitet. Bei den Augen ist die Iris nur durch eine schwache Ritzung konturiert; ihre Überschneidung durch das Oberlid spricht für eine Datierung in das 2. Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Die Berufsbestimmung ergibt sich aus dem Porträtmedaillon des Kranzes. Derartige Insignien sind an Bildnissen von Priestern, besonders aus Kleinasien, in verschiedenen Varianten erhalten.¹⁶ Auch die Miniaturbüsten an den Modii zahlreicher Priesterdarstellungen aus Palmyra gehören in diesen Zusammenhang.¹⁷

Das Problem, welchem Kult dieser Priester zuzuordnen ist, läßt sich vorerst nicht lösen. Im Falle entsprechender Kranzembleme bei palmyrenischen Priestern, bei denen gleichartige Miniaturporträts auftreten, gibt es auch noch keine überzeugenden Deutungskriterien. Daneben gibt es im nordsyrischen Raum bekanntlich auch Priester mit

hohen Spitzhüten, wie sie etwa in Dura-Europos vorkommen.¹⁸ Für Membidj ist dieser Typus durch das von R. Stucky mit einem im Kunsthandel entdeckten Fragment vervollständigte Basaltrelief in Damaskus belegt.¹⁹ In der Gruppe der Belkis-Reliefs ist diese Form eines Priesterhuts durch eine unpublizierte Neuerwerbung in Trier vertreten.²⁰ Die Überlebensgröße des Kopfes in Brooklyn spricht dafür, daß er von einer Statue stammt. Die ungewöhnlichen Dimensionen entsprechen der bemerkenswerten Qualität der Skulptur, der sich nur wenige Beispiele aus der Gruppe der Büstenreliefs zur Seite stellen lassen. Der Kopf in Malibu ist ihm trotz unterschiedlichen Stilcharakters allerdings durchaus ebenbürtig.

3) GÖTTERRELIEF AUS BASALT²¹

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient das annähernd quadratische Relief mit Asklepios und Hygieia, das aus

16. In der Mehrzahl handelt es sich um Priesterkronen mit einer Reihe von Büsten. Daneben begegnen Beispiele mit einzelnen Büsten: Vgl. zu letzteren J. Inan—E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966) 139f. Nr. 174, Taf. 103, 1.2; 171f. Nr. 228 Taf. 126; 177f. Nr. 239 Taf. 132; 179 Nr. 241 Taf. 133, 3.4.—Zu Priestern mit mehreren Büsten am Diadem s. ebendort Index 235 s.v. crown bzw. 241 s.v. priests.—Ferner Inan—Alfoldi-Rosenbaum a.o.38–47; J. Ch. Balty, *Bull. de la Classe des B.-A., Acad. R. de Belgique* 5. Ser. 60, 1978, 51 (Lit.)

17. M. Gawlikowski, *Studia palmyrenskie* 1, 1966, 74ff.; R. A. Stucky, *Syria* 50, 1973, 163ff.

18. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922–1923) (1926) 46ff. Taf. 31–35.

19. *Syria* 53, 1976, 127ff. Taf. 5.

20. Städtisches Museum Inv. 000 (erworben als "palmyrenisch"). Publikation durch Cl. Nauerth in Vorbereitung.

21. Inv. 71.AA.319; 62,5 x 65 cm; Tiefe 11 cm.—Auktionskat. Sotheby London 4.12.1969, Nr. 189, Abb.; Vermeule (-Neuerburg) a.o. 40 Nr. 88, Abb.

dem typischen, schwarzen Hauranbasalt gearbeitet ist. Die Oberfläche ist intakt; die Ungenauigkeiten in der Ausführung der Einzelheiten sind original und nicht durch Korrosion verursacht. Von den beiden Gottheiten ist die Darstellung des Heilgotts besonders merkwürdig. Die Kombination von zwei Attributen, dem zu einer Keule verdickten Schlangenstab und einem Schwert, ist ikonographisch so befremdlich, daß man auch den provinziellen Charakter der Arbeit nicht als ausreichende Erklärung gelten lassen kann. Diese Ansicht hat zuletzt noch S. B. Downey vertreten.²² Vielmehr liegt eine andere Interpretation der auffallenden Unstimmigkeiten näher.

Das Relief ist in Wirklichkeit eine Fälschung, die vermutlich aus der Werkstatt eines italienischen Amateurbildhauers stammt, der zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts in Damaskus tätig war und anscheinend ausschließlich Basalt verwendet hat. Vor vielen Jahren erhielt ich von H. Seyrig im Zusammenhang mit der Entlarvung dreier anderer Fälsfikate im Frankfurter Liebieghaus²³ wertvolle Informationen über diesen 'Künstler,' die an dieser Stelle ergänzt um Hinweise auf mir später bekannt gewordene

Beispiele—wiedergegeben seien. Urheber dieser Arbeiten war demnach ein italienischer Angestellter der Hedjas-Bahn, der 1911 nach Ausbruch des türkisch-italienischen Krieges das Land verlassen mußte. Die zurückgelassenen Skulpturen gelangten später in den Handel und wurden z.T. auch von verschiedenen öffentlichen Sammlungen erworben.

Nur wenige Exemplare dieser Produktion sind bisher publiziert. Eine Serie von vier Exemplaren wurde bereits 1921 veröffentlicht.²⁴ Ein weiteres Relief gelangte 1928 nach Genf; es wurde jedoch nach seiner Publikation von R. Mouterde als Fälschung erkannt.²⁵ Bereits vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg hatte Johann Georg Herzog zu Sachsen ein anderes Büstenrelief dieser Gruppe in Syrien erworben. Es befindet sich heute im Kuntsgeschichtlichen Institut der Universität Mainz.²⁶ Drei weitere Arbeiten dieses 'Künstlers' befinden sich, worauf mich H. Seyrig seinerzeit aufmerksam gemacht hatte, in den Magazinen des British Museum.²⁷ Die Reliefs zeigen häufig griechische Inschriften, die jedoch—wie im vorliegenden Falle—nur aus zu meist sinnlosen Buchstabenfolgen bestehen.

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22. Getty *Mus. Journal* 6/7, 1978/79.

23. Kurzes Verzeichnis der Bildwerke* (1930) 105f. Nr. 854 (Venus mit Amor, Relief); Nr. 855, 856 (weibl. bzw. männl. Büstenrelief); erworben 1927 in Damaskus.

24. Th. Wiegand in C. Watzinger—K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus—Die antike Stadt* (Berlin-Leipzig 1921) 107–108 Nr. 3–6 Abb. 73.74.

25. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Inv. 12682; W. Deonna, *Genava* 7, 1929, 213 f. Nr. 4 Abb. 1; dazu ders., *Genava* 9, 1931, 115 Nr. 24.

26. Prinz Johann Georg—Sammlung Inv. 836; unpubliziert.

27. Dept. of Western Asiatic Ant. 102604–6 = Acc. numbers 1908–4–15, 1–3. T. C. Mitchell verdanke ich ergänzende Auskünfte.

An Etruscan Mirror with “Spiky Garland” in the Getty Museum

An attractive Etruscan bronze mirror with engraved decoration has recently come into the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figs. 1–3).¹ Etruscan bronze mirrors were a specialty of the Etruscan cities, from the Archaic period of the sixth century B.C. to the Hellenistic period of the third or second century B.C. The front of the mirror, *malena* or *malstria* as it was called in Etruscan, was originally highly polished and used as the reflecting surface, while the back was decorated with engraved figures. On the Getty mirror the well-engraved design consists of four figures; of particular interest are the inscriptions along the outer border, identifying these figures by names written in the Etruscan language. The decorative border, a crown or garland of spiky leaves tied with a ring or circlet in four places—above, below and at the sides—is typical of a large group of small round mirrors with cast handle ending in an animal head.² (In contrast, larger, more expensive mirrors were often provided with a separate carved handle of bone or ivory.)³ Sir John Beazley first collected this group, decorated by a “bakchos garland” with ring, as part of his “Class Z mirrors.”⁴ Reinhard Herbig made a special study of a group of mirrors characterized by their border decoration, a “Stachelkranz” or “spiky garland,” naming it the

Kranzspiegelgruppe, or “Garlanded Mirror Group.”⁵

Such mirrors are decorated by groups of figures, seated, for the most part, or standing around pleasantly chatting, as on this mirror. The curved space above their heads is usually filled with an architectural background, here a pediment. They all evidently hark back to a single model, a design consisting of four figures: two central figures, flanked by two youths whose attributes originally identified them as Castor and Pollux, the Dioskouroi.⁶ These figures the craftsman varied at will, changing the pose, the dress, the sex, and the name of the figures.

On the Getty mirror, for example, as on many of these mirrors, the two youthful male figures frame the composition at either side. Both wear Phrygian caps, high-thonged sandals, a few folds of drapery of their thighs, and a baldric from which hangs a sword, the handle of which is rather sketchily represented under each youth’s left armpit. The youth on the right, here identified by an inscription as *menle*, or “Menelaus,”⁷ crosses his arms in a relaxed position, while his counterpart on the left, *pru . . . the*, “Prometheus,” lays his right hand along the edge of the round border, and holds, with his left, the spears resting over his left shoulder.⁸ In the center, between them,

1. Inv. No. 77 AC 100. In good condition, except for surface incrustations and abrasions, especially on the border, where they have obscured some of the inscribed letters. I thank Dr. Jifi Frel for permission to publish this mirror, and for the information he has kindly provided. Measurements: Diam. of disc: 12.4 cm. Length including handle: xx cm. The mirror was previously published in *Ars Antiqua AG, Lagerkatalog* 4. Dec. 1969, No. 11, where the inscriptions were interpreted as Menelaos, Palamedes, Minerva, and Troilus. On Etruscan mirrors, the basic corpus is still E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* vols. 1–5 (Berlin 1840–1897; vol. 5 edited by G. Körte. Hereafter ES); see also G. Mansuelli, *StEtr* 19 (1946–47) 1–37, etc. An international corpus of Etruscan mirrors (*Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*: CSE), sponsored by the Istituto di Studi Etruschi e Italici, is forthcoming. The Etruscan name for mirrors, *malstria* (TLE 752) or *malena* (TLE 695): M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Penguin Books 1978) 229; A. J. Pfiffig, *Die etruskische Sprache* (Graz 1969) 294.

2. D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Le miroir étrusque* (Rome 1974, hereafter Rebuffat-Emmanuel) 358–364; 449–450. *Infra*, n. 5.

3. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 350–358. L. Bonfante, *StEtr* 45 (1977) 164–165. S. Weinberg, *MUSE* (Annual. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri) 9 (1975) 25–33.

4. J. D. Beazley, *Num. Chron.* 1941, 7; *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford 1947) 131; *JHS* 69 (1949) 16.

5. R. Herbig, *StEtr* 24 (1955–56) 183–205. This kind of decoration makes a surprising appearance on a peculiar Praenestine cista in Berlin: L. Bonfante Warren, *AJA* 68 (1964) 35–42, esp. 39–40. A third-century date for the cista is preferable to the first-century date suggested in my article: see now G. Battaglia Bordenache, *Corpus di Ciste Prenestine* (Rome 1979) No. 7; B. M. Felletti Maj, *L'elemento italico nell'arte romana* (Roma 1977) 77–79; L. Bonfante, *American Journal of Ancient History* 3 (1978) 151–162.

6. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 449–450; 462–474.

7. For these Greek mythological names transcribed into Etruscan, see C. de Simone, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen I* (Wiesbaden 1968), s.v. *Menle*, *Palmithe*, *Talmithe*, *Prumathe*. For *Talmithe* (Talamedes) see also a mirror from Ischia di Castro: R. Lambrechts, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome* 39 (1968) 5–29.

8. Cf. the similar pose of the left-hand figure on a mirror in Berlin: ES 284.1; Herbig 198, fig. 5.



Figure 1. Etruscan mirror. Malibu.

stand two other figures. Stage front stands *talmithe* (for *Palmithe*), that is “Palamedes,” the frontal figure of the group, a nude youth with billowing curls, wearing only high-thonged sandals, armed with baldric and two spears; following the outline of his head a line, something like a halo, merges into the lines of the architectural background. Slightly behind him, Minerva (*mer . . . a*, that is *m[n]erva*), wearing a Corinthian helmet and a long peplos with overfold. The goddess, shown in profile, turns to look at her neighbor, *prumathe* (*pru . . . the*) or “Prometheus.” She is clearly recognizable by her dress. The same cannot be said for the other figures. “Menelaus” and “Prometheus” are in fact most inappropriately dressed in Phrygian caps,⁹ which normally distinguished Trojan heroes from Greeks, or served as the attribute of the

Dioskouroi, Castor and Pollux.¹⁰

Such a light-hearted approximation of any relationship between figure and name is typical of this group of Hellenistic mirrors. As Beazley said of a similar mirror, “No particular episode is intended; it is simply a gathering of Homeric characters, and shows that Etruscan interest in the heroic age of Greece was unabated.”¹¹ Yet this was not always true. Beazley himself points out a mirror in the Metropolitan Museum in New York with a unique representation of Prometheus Unbound, in which *Prumathe*, in pain, leans on Minerva (*Menerva*), and Asklepios (*Esplake*, for *Esklake*), who binds his wounds, while Herakles (*Hercle*) looks on, with the eagle, which he has just shot, at his feet (Fig. 4).¹²

On our mirror, however, *Prumathe* and *Menle*, Prome-

9. Beazley, *JHS* 69 (1949) 16: “Menle wears a Phrygian cap, for which there is, of course, no excuse” (of a similar mirror in the Metropolitan Museum).

10. R. De Puma, *StEtr* 41 (1973) 159–170. For the Phrygian hats see especially L. Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley, L.A. 1949).

11. Beazley, *JHS* 69 (1949) 16. As an example of outright misunder-

standing or carelessness, Herbig (192) cites the example of a male figure labelled *Artumes* or *Artemis*! (Cf. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 468.)

12. Rogers Fund 1903. From Bolsena, second century B.C.(?), G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* (N.Y. 1940) 281, fig. 162; J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 6 (1949) 16, pl. xi, c; Herbig 196–197, fig. 3; de Simone (supra n. 7) 77, 103 (s.v. *Hercle*, *Prumathe*) pl. 16, fig. 28.



Figure 2. Etruscan mirror. Malibu. Drawing by Martha Breen Bredemeyer.



Figure 3. Etruscan mirror. Malibu. Drawing by Elizabeth Woodsmall.

theus and Menelaus, are simply two youths sitting at the sides, similar in pose and attributes to the many pairs of lightly clad youths wearing Phrygian caps, seated or leaning against their shields. Such figures form a favorite decorative framing device for the typical four-figure groups of this type of mirror (Figs. 1–7). Various names are used to identify them. On a very similar mirror (Fig. 5) on which they appear flanking Ulysses and Clytemnestra (*uthste* and *clutmstra*), they are labelled *Menle* and *Talmithe*, Menelaus and Palamedes (names which appear on the Getty mirror as well, but differently distributed)¹³ Elsewhere (Fig. 6), they are *Ziumithe* and *Palmithe* (Diomedes and Palamedes),¹⁴ or (Fig. 7) *Elchsntre* and *Menle*, Paris Alexander and Menelaus.¹⁵ Quite frequently the four figures are used to represent the Judgment of Paris (Fig. 8), with the three

goddesses—one seated, two standing—*Uni* (Juno), *Menrva* (Minerva) and *Turan* (Venus), appearing before the seated prince at the left, whose Phrygian cap marks his Trojan ancestry.¹⁶ An ambitious five-figure group identifies the two side figures as *Echtur* (Hector) and *Priumne* (Priam) by means of inscriptions as well as attributes (Fig. 9). Hector wears the usual baldric, sword, sandals and drapery, and leans his arm against the edge of the border, but has no Phrygian hat; Priam, appropriately dressed in Phrygian hat and long-sleeved, long chiton or robe, as befits an Eastern king, holds a scepter and sits on a throne.¹⁷ The figures on this mirror form a coherent group representing, as Herbig points out, part of the Trojan royal family, with Paris Alexander in the middle, between the elderly couple, Priam and Hecuba (*Priumne*, *Ecapa*) on the right, and

13. ES 385; Körte, in ES vol. 5, p. 1018.

14. ES 382.2; Körte, *loc. cit.* From Tuscania. Formerly Castellani Collection; now lost.

15. ES 382.1; Körte, *loc. cit.* For other combinations, see Körte, *op. cit.* p. 104, 108; Herbig 190, 192.

16. See, for example, a mirror in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College: D. G. Mitten, S. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (Fogg Art Museum, etc. 1967) No. 218. R. Bloch, *The Etruscans* (London 1958, reprinted 1965), fig. 36. On the type, see L. Lord, *AJA* 41 (1937) 602–606.

17. Rome, Museo Torlonia. ES 5.118. Herbig 198–199, fig. 6.



Figure 4. Etruscan mirror with Prometheus Unbound. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5. Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, ES 385.

Helen and her brother-in-law Hector (*Elinei, Ehtur*) on the left. Though rarely as well-knit as this "group portrait," the "conversation groups" of these mirrors are nevertheless often arranged in pairs, many of these romantic couples of lovers from Greek mythology, such as Helen and Menelaos, Chryseis and Achilles; but there is also the combination of mother and son, Thetis and Achilles. Other groups represented are the hunt for the Erymanthian boar (Figs. 10–11), or the birth of Athena (*Minerva*) from the head of Zeus (*Tinia*).¹⁸

There were certainly models or cartoons available for the craftsmen who executed the mass-produced mirrors and urns of the Hellenistic period in Etruria.¹⁹ Herbig, in his study of these "spiky-garland" mirrors, reconstructs an original composition consisting of a central figure, a

handsome naked youth, standing in a relaxed pose by one of the Dioskouroi.²⁰ The halo-like line about the head of the central figure on the Getty mirror is perhaps a reminder of the headgear this figure originally wore.²¹ Beside him and somewhat behind him *Minerva*, fully dressed, chats with the *Dioskouros* on the other side. Though the original identity of the central figure is no longer clear, the figure of *Minerva*, on the other hand, is so clearly characterized by her attributes—she is usually the only fully dressed figure of the group!—that she remains unchanged.²² As for the two flanking figures of the *Dioskouroi*, they are still identified, not only by their attributes, especially the Phrygian caps, but often by their names written in Etruscan.²³

The Getty mirror is still close to this original model,

18. For the romantic couples from Greek mythology, see Herbig 191. Combinations of mother and son are particularly popular in Etruria (cf. *Semele* and *Dionysos*), and so are scenes of birth (cf. *Leda* and the egg, and the birth of *Athena*, below) and adoption (as on the famous mirror from Volterra, on which *Juno* suckles *Heracles*, for which see A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca* [Graz 1975] 245.) Cf. O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (New York 1978) 240, 344, 364–365. Fig. 10: Paris, Louvre 1041. Herbig 195 fig. 2; ES 175; L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore 1975) fig. 91, with bibl.; L. B. van der Meer, *BABESCH* 52–53 (1977–78) 74, figs. 60–61. Fig. 11. Mirror in the Indiana University Art Museum, 62.251. H. 28.2 cm. Diam. 13.3 cm. R.S. Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art* (1967), No. 90.

For the birth of *Athena*, e.g. the mirror in Berlin, ES 284.1; Herbig 199, fig. 5; Bonfante Warren, *AJA* 68 (1964) 40, fig. 9.

19. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 468; Herbig 190–195. See Bonfante (supra n. 3) 160, for further references.

20. Herbig (192) reconstructs the central figure as a young man, wearing boots (actually these were, in my opinion, more likely to have been high-thonged sandals), and occasionally a cap with hanging ties, or a kind of radiate crown on his head; as examples he cites ES 263.6, 266.3, 266.6; and 263.2 (reversed). The central figure is often turned into a female, to represent *Turan*, or—less frequently—*Uni* (Herbig 191).



Figure 6. Etruscan mirror from Tuscania. Formerly Castellani Collection; now lost. Gerhard, ES 382.2.

though the craftsman has varied the representation by labelling all the figures, thus transforming the Dioskouroi into other characters from Greek mythology, Menelaos and Prometheus, while the central figure is identified here as Palamedes. The figure of Minerva, as usual, completes the group. Our mirror thus belongs to a group in which the figures, which are not very clearly differentiated, are identified chiefly by means of the inscriptions.²⁴

Where did the craftsmen get the names? They betray a fairly sophisticated knowledge of Greek mythology; and their variety suggests that they were added at will by the craftsmen, rather than being taken from an original model which included both picture and name. Herbig pointed out that the groups often included pairs of famous lovers, and suggested that these were taken from a learned Helle-

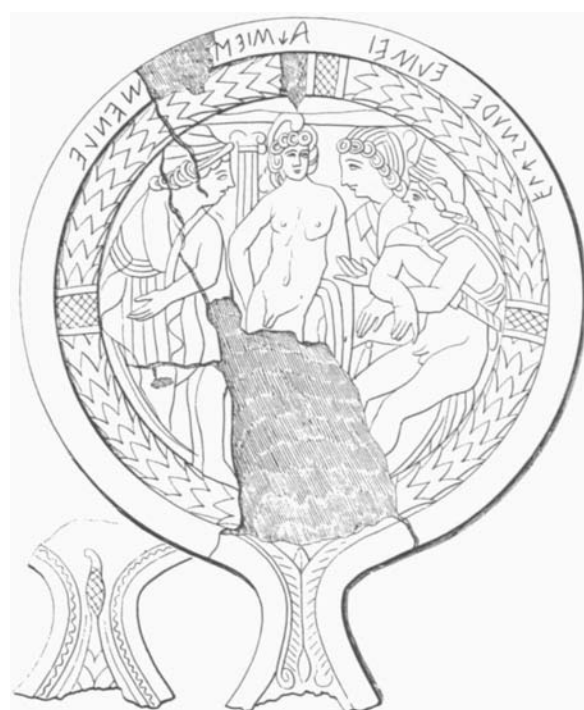


Figure 7. Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, ES 382.1.

nistic list of mythological couples.²⁵ But why would the women buying such mirrors be interested in having their mirrors decorated with obscure mythological figures? The presence of these inscriptions of the mirrors certainly speaks for the literacy and learning of Etruscan women.²⁶ Some of the mythological characters referred to, however, are so obscure that we are surprised to find them on these ordinary mirrors with cast handle. Such mirrors were not particularly rare or precious objects; one did not have to be very rich to own one. Thus, women with normal educations owned them in their lifetimes and enjoyed the representations with which they were decorated. I would like to suggest that most of the figures appealed to the mirrors' owners because they knew them from the stage. The fact that theatrical scenes were a favorite theme for the

21. Herbig 190–193. Rebuffat-Emmanuel (465) believes the original central figure may have been a naked female, and thinks of Helen accompanied by her brothers, Castor and Pollux. The presence of Minerva, who is by far the most constant member of the group, is hard to explain in such a context.

22. Herbig 191. Rebuffat-Emmanuel (465) suggest that an original model representing the Judgment of Paris would account for Minerva's presence.

23. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 464–465, with examples.

24. Herbig (190–193) distinguishes a group with generalized icono-

graphy, a second with inscriptions, and a third with more clearly designated mythological representations (see above, text). Rebuffat-Emmanuel's three groups (462–472) include 1. "groupes stéréotypés" (with or without inscriptions, and therefore including our mirror); 2. "groupes non stéréotypés"; and 3. "groupes mythologiques." Körte (supra n. 12) (103–109) and Rebuffat-Emmanuel (468) remark on the arbitrary use of the names.

25. Herbig 191; supra n. 18.

26. L. Bonfante Warren, *Arethusa* 6 (1973) 94. For the status of Etruscan women, see J. Heurgon, *The Daily Life of the Etruscans* (New York 1964) 75–96.



Figure 8. Etruscan mirror with Judgment of Paris. Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum.



Figure 9. Etruscan mirror with Priam, Hecuba, and family. Gerhard, ES 5.118.

decoration of Hellenistic Etruscan mirrors, vases and urns, and Praenestine cistae, has frequently been noted, though rarely emphasized.²⁷ Themes from the tragedies of Euripides were favorites, though the Etruscan public may have known these only indirectly, by way of adaptations by local Etruscan, or Roman, playwrights.²⁸ Palamedes, represented on our mirror, was the leading character in a very popular (lost) play of Euripides.²⁹ Prometheus, of course, was the hero of a number of Greek tragedies, the most famous of which was the Aeschylean trilogy of which only the first play, the *Prometheus Bound*, survives. We have seen that a specific scene from the Prometheus story was represented on an Etruscan mirror (Fig. 5).³⁰

27. Theatrical themes on Praenestine cistae: D. K. Hill, *J. Walt* 35 (1977) 13, n. 24 (a stage silene?). M. Sapelli, *Acme* 28 (1975, especially 238–241, a parody of a myth, based perhaps on Sophocles' satyr play. G. Battaglia Bordenache, *Corpus di ciste prenestine* (Rome 1979) No. 7, on the Berlin cista with (comedy?) representation of a "triumph." For mirrors, vases and urns, see L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore 1975) 121, n. 43, for references; and 129, n. 56. See also L. Bonfante *American Journal of Ancient History*, (*supra* n. 5). On the complex symbolism of Euripidean tragic characters depicted on Etruscan funerary urns made in Volterra, and their relation to Roman drama, see F. H. Pairault Massa, in *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche*, Suppl. I, *Prospettiva* (Florence

Menelaos was a character in many Euripidean tragedies; his most romantic role concerned his reunion, in exotic Egypt, with his long-lost, unexpectedly innocent wife Helen, with whom he plots a dramatic escape.³¹ Scenes from the plays of Euripides were often represented on the red-figured vases of southern Italy in the fourth century B.C., which were known and imitated in Etruria.³² But it has been noted that the transcription of Greek mythological names into Etruscan presupposes that the names were pronounced often, and changed in the course of such pronunciation, most probably on stage.³³ So these names, obscure to us, would not be obscure to the ladies who enjoyed seeing, and hearing the romantic and dra-

1977) 160, nn. 145–154, esp. 145.

28. Heurgon (*supra* n. 26) 241–247.

29. Parodied in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* 756–84. See *infra* n. 32.

30. *Supra* n. 12.

31. Euripides, *Helen*; also parodied in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae* 850–919.

32. L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926); T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London 1956) 97–119; 176–177; M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman*



Figure 10. Etruscan mirror with Meleager, Atalanta, and companions. Paris, Louvre.



Figure 11. Etruscan mirror with Meleager, Atalanta, and companions. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum 62.251.

matic episodes of these heroes as represented on stage and quoted or recited, as popular songs from musical hits are today.

The location of the workshops which produced these mirrors is hard to identify.³⁴ The publication of the newly-organized corpus of Etruscan mirrors, which will collect all the Etruscan mirrors scattered in museums and collections scattered throughout the world—over 2,000 of them—³⁵ will make it easier to study such problems, and to identify the style of specific workshops as well as, in some cases, even the “hand” of a specific craftsman.

The date of the Getty mirror and other similar mirrors of this group is no earlier than the third century B.C.—per-

haps as late as the second century B.C.³⁶ Again, until all the specimens are collected, and a careful study can be carried out which will include excavated pieces, for which the date can be determined by means of their tomb context, it will be hard to date these mirrors more closely.

Meanwhile, the new mirror in the J. Paul Getty collection adds a particularly interesting example to the group, giving us another instance of the occurrence of the Etruscan names of Palamedes and Prometheus; these names occur rather infrequently in the precious monuments of the Etruscan language which have come down to us. Though not one of the richer, more ambitious examples of the mirror-engraver’s art, this mirror tells us more about this

Theatre (Princeton, 2nd ed. 1961) 1–35. For post-Euripidean tragedies, see Bieber (34–35): “Externally, as internally, this fourth-century tragedy, to which the vase testifies, is in direct continuity with the art of Euripides . . . The tragedies of Euripides underlie most Roman tragedies down to Seneca.” This was evidently also the case for Etruscan tragedies (see *infra*. n. 33).

33. On the representation and recitation of tragedies in the Etruscan cities, and the frequent oral repetition of the names of Greek tragic characters, see Heurgon (*supra* n. 26) 241–247: “The names of Agamemnon, Achilles, Clytemnestra, Alexander, and Ganymede had been pronounced by Etruscans, and had been heard by the craftsmen who wrote

them down on their mirrors, pictures and vases; they were not copied from Greek models.” Cf. van der Meer (*supra* n. 18) 90–92.

34. Herbig 304. L. B. van der Meer (*supra* n. 18) 74 favors Caere or Bolsena. Chiusi has been mentioned as a possibility. It was in any case an Etruscan city, not Praeneste.

35. *Supra* n. 1.

36. Herbig’s date for the majority of these mirrors, the early first century B.C.—on which I based the late date of the Berlin cista (*supra* n. 5)—is no longer accepted by most scholars. Rebuffat-Emmanuel (450, 487) suggests a date in the third century B.C.

group of widely distributed mirrors or *malstria*, used by “middle class women” rather than great ladies or princesses. The study of such objects is particularly important for us, for from them we can learn about “normal” forms

of the daily life, craftsmanship, literacy, art and culture of the Etruscan people; that is, about the man and woman in the street.

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A Set of Ancient Silverware in the Getty Museum

In 1975 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a set of ancient silverware that ranks with the best of Greek and Roman silver ever to enter an American museum (Fig. 1). The set contains a pair of drinking cups, each decorated with a relief design of putti carrying garlands, another cup ornamented with applied figures of erotes with musical instruments, a long-handled ladle or stirrer, a pitcher, and a jar. With the silver came a gold diadem and a gold seal ring. An aureus of Mark Antony, struck in Asia Minor in 34 B.C. and alleged to have been found with the silver and jewelry, could not be acquired by the museum but is represented here by a plastic cast. Fragmentary remains of bronze vessels were also said to have been once associated with the group. Before coming to Malibu the objects are known to have been in Beirut, and the museum possesses papers from the department of antiquities of Lebanon authorizing their export. Beyond that, however, nothing is known for certain about their origins except that the silver and jewelry must have come from a site—surely a tomb—inland from the northeast shores of the Mediterranean, and not from Egypt, Greece, or Italy.

One of the decorated cups was illustrated in a general guide to the J. Paul Getty Museum,¹ the silver pitcher was fully described and illustrated in the catalogue of an exhibition of ancient silver shown at the Toledo Museum of Art, The Nelson Gallery at Kansas City, and the Kimball Museum in Fort Worth in 1977 and 1978,² and the gold aureus was illustrated in a European auction catalogue in 1973 two years before the silver came to Malibu.³ Not until now, however, has the whole group been published, and it is through the generosity of Stephen Garrett, Director of The J. Paul Getty Museum, and Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities, that I have been given the privilege to do so.

The most spectacular objects in the group are the two cups, a matching pair (75.AI.54 and 55) (Figs. 2–6, 7–8). The body of each cup has a smooth inner liner that includes the molding at the rims, and an outer casing decorated in repoussé relief, both elements raised and worked from single pieces of silver; foot and handles were cast separately and soldered respectively to the bottom of the outer casing and the rim of the inner liner. Figure 5 shows the inner liner and handles from above revealing the sequence of curlicues on the crescent shaped rim attachment that recall the behavior of a wood strip under a whittling knife. The ring of the handle, not quite a full circle, has a flush inner surface and a convex outer surface with a leafy projection. The foot has a narrow stem with central molding and a flaring base done in several degrees. On the outer casing of each cup is a relief showing four youthful Erotes, flying and supporting a continuous garland. On one cup the Erotes face alternately left and right; on the second, three face to the right, one to the left. They are shouldering the garland and turn their heads as if looking under their upraised arms. Their legs are discreetly crossed. Despite the worn silver, it is evident that the hair of one Eros is parted in the center (Fig. 7), and it is likely that the hair of the others were similarly parted. Pomegranates, apples, grapes, olives, pine cones, and acorns are identifiable in the garlands, and there seem to be other varieties of fruit as well. The garlands are tightly wound with taeniae, whose ends hang loosely down beside the figures of the Erotes. Three long-tailed birds hover above each section of the garland, while a fourth bird perches on the center-most of three objects suspended below each garland section. This is a tympanum in some instances, a wicker basket (or cista) in

Cup 1	75.AI.54	H: 12.5 cm;	D: 11.5
Cup 2	75.AI.55	H: 12.3 cm;	D: 11.6
Cup 3	75.AI.56	H: 13.0 cm;	D: 10.2
Pitcher	75.AI.57	H: 21.2 cm;	D of Belly: 14.1
Ladle	75.AI.58	L: 38.9 cm.	
Jar	75.AI.59	H: 13.8;	D. (belly): 12.4; D (lip): 5.6

Diadem 75.AI.60 L. 34.4

Ring 75.AI.61 D: 2.4

1. The J. Paul Getty Museum, *Guidebook*, 4th ed., 1978, p. 40 ill.

2. A. Oliver, Jr., *Silver for the Gods; 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver*, 1977, p. 114, no. 74 ill.

3. G. Kastner, *Katalog 4, Münzen der Antike*, Munich 27–28 November 1973, p. 44, no. 212, pl. 16.



Figure 1. The associated grave goods. Malibu.



Figure 2. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.54, front.



Figure 3. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.54, back.



Figure 4. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.54, with liner removed.



Figure 5. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.54, liner.



Figure 6. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.54, detail of Eros.



Figure 8. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.55, back



Figure 7. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.55, front.

others, in every case flanked by auloi (double pipes) and cymbals. The relief is blurred, as if by repeated polishing in antiquity, not by the corrosion of long-term burial, and the skin of the metal has worn through on the high points of many of the fruits and suspended objects. The decorated casings slip easily on and off their inner liners, and since the handles are attached only to the rims of the liners, the positioning of the handles with respect to the reliefs is arbitrary and adjustable.

Before turning to the rest of the silver, let us explore the relationship of these two cups to other examples of ancient silverware and attempt to establish their position in a broader context of Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial decorative arts. It should be immediately apparent that the handles with their distinctively ornamental ring and lower prong are identical to the handles on a pair of decorated silver cups from Boscoreale in the Louvre;⁴ the overall shape and dimensions of the two pairs of cups are also a good match. Less obvious is the similarity of the moldings on the rim of the liner and the profile of the foot to the comparable features on the silver cup of the early Augustan date from Meroe, Sudan, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.⁵ The comparison with the Boscoreale cup is of greater interest, however, because it leads to the observation that the ornament on both pairs of cups,

those in the Louvre and at Malibu, is related to the florals and garlands of the Ara Pacis in Rome, a monument dedicated by Augustus in 9 B.C.⁶ Yet, striking as this may first seem, the relationship is more superficial than real, at least for the Malibu cups. Disregarding the presence of Erotes and Bacchic instruments instead of bucrania and sacrificial vessels as difference of function, not style, it is worth noting that the taeniae of fillets are arranged differently and the organization of the branches and fruit differs also: full, rounded, and uniform garlands on the Ara Pacis; loose and irregular garlands on the cups, much more like the garlands on the single silver cup in Berlin from Hildesheim, where the leaves extend at right angles to the main stem and the taeniae bind the garlands tightly.⁷ It has long been recognized that the floral ornament of the Ara Pacis had its origins in Hellenistic art, not that of Italy but of the Greek East and more specifically that of Pergamon.

Garlands are found elsewhere in Hellenistic silver but none matches what appears on the Malibu cups. Fuller garlands occur on the lid of the pyxis from Palaikastro, Greece, where it is suspended from the two actors' masks,⁸ and on the upper body of the incense burner from Taranto, where a continuous garland is suspended from bucrania.⁹

Putti shouldering a continuous garland formed a stan-

4. A. M. A. Héron de Villefosse, *MonPiot* V, 1899, pp. 68–73, pls. IX–X; F. Baratte in *Pompéi*, Petit Palais exh. cat., 1973, no. 225, ill.

5. Acc. no. 24.971; C. C. Vermeule, *Antike Kunst* 6, 1961, pp. 33–40, pl. 10; E. Künzl *JRGZM* 22, 1975, p. 73, pl. 20.2; Oliver, *Silver for the Gods*, pp. 122–123, no. 77, ill.

6. T. Kraus, *Die Ranken der Ara Pacis*, 1953.

7. Inv. no. 3779, 10; U. Gehrig, *Hildesheimer Silberfund*, 1967, pp.

19–20, color pl. II; Oliver, *Silver for the Gods*, pp. 126–127, no. 80, ill.

8. D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate*, 1966, p. 118, pl. 32B; Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike, *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* [1978] p. 35, no. 20, pl. 2.

9. P. Willeumier, *Le trésor de Tarante*, 1930, pl. VII.

10. For a recent discussion with bibliography, see A. M. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1978, pp. 25–33.



Figure 9. Silver cup, Getty 75.A1.55, detail of Eros.

dard decorative element in Roman art not only for marble sarcophagi where the image is most familiar¹⁰ but also in Campanian wall painting.¹¹ Yet the motif had its origins in the art of Pergamon of the second half of the second century B.C., and that is where we must look to locate the source of the Erotes and garland on the Malibu silver. A series of black-glazed cups, all fragmentary, excavated at Pergamon, have mold-made reliefs affixed to the smooth, wheel-turned surface showing a continuous garland supported by flying Erotes.¹² A complete cup of this type in a German private collection displays the arrangement in its entirety, with six erotes all moving right, legs crossed as on the silver cups, taeniae tied in bows over their heads.¹³ Jörg Schäfer, who published the Pergamene ceramic fragments, compared the decoration to the relief of Erotes shouldering garlands depicted on a marble antis capital from the Exedra of Diodoros in the upper gymnasium at Pergamon securely dated to between 126 and 120 B.C.¹⁴ Schäfer added that if only more Hellenistic silver were preserved we could see the relationship of the imposing architectural decoration of Pergamon and that on metalwork now only echoed in early Roman Imperial silver.¹⁵ The decoration on the Malibu cups is such an echo, and as a result it stands as close to the art of Asia Minor as to the decorative arts of Roman Italy. But on none of the Per-

gamon garlands are there representations of objects suspended or birds flying; for these we must turn back to Campanian wall painting and specifically paintings of the "Second Style" which flourished between 80 and 30 B.C.

A panel from the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale depicts a garland suspended between bucrania with cymbals, a cista, and a satyr's mask suspended below;¹⁶ the "House of Livia" in Rome has a panel on which a cista is shown hanging from a fruity garland;¹⁷ and the fragmentary walls from Solunto in Sicily now in the National Museum at Palermo show a garland with pairs of taeniae loosely thrown over it on each side and an actor's mask hanging below in the center.¹⁸ Birds occur in a wall-painting in the Casa degli Epigrammi at Pompeii,¹⁹ and on other wall-paintings in Campania which served as the inspiration for the garlands and birds represented in ancient style on the walls of the large peristyle of the J. Paul Getty Museum itself.²⁰

The third cup (Figs. 10–12) has a markedly concave body, an offset convex molding at the rim, and a convex lower body offset from the upright wall of the cup to such a degree that in effect a trough is formed around the vase. The foot, similar to those on the pair of cups, is cast and turned and was soldered to the bottom of the cup. Separately cast figures of two hovering Erotes are likewise at-

11. G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura Ellenistico-Romana*, 1929, pl. 155 top and 157 bottom, the latter shown in color in W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*, 1979, p. 270, fig. 402.

12. J. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon*, 1968, pp. 83–84, pl. 37.

13. Bonn, Landesmuseum, *Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz*, 1973, pp. 73–74, no. 102, pl. 47.

14. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik*, pp. 84, 91–92, fig. 15.2.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

16. H. G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom 2. bis zum 4. Stil*, I, 1938, p. 44, fig. 87.

17. G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della "Casa di Livia,"* 1937, p. 41, pls. B, IV.

18. Beyen, *Pompejanische Wanddekoration I*, fig. 6a–c.

19. *Ibid.* II, fig. 93.

20. N. Neuerburg, *Archaeology* 27, 1974, p. 178, ill.



Figure 10. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.56, front.



Figure 11. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.56, back.

tached to the cup. All had fallen off and were reattached recently. Originally a third Eros was present as well as a handle; of the latter only the ghost of its attachment is preserved (Fig. 10, right profile). One Eros holds a syrinx or Pan-pipes, the other krotala (castanets); the missing Eros may have held a typanum, or auloi (double pipes), or perhaps even a lyre, on the analogy of the blue and white glass cameo amphora in the National Museum in Naples on which wingless Putti play a lyre, auloi, and syrinx while others gather and trample grapes.²¹

The cup, originally a one-handled cup, is similar in shape—though a bit taller in proportions—than the figured kantharos showing Orestes and Iphigenia in the British Museum.²² Traces of solder on the latter indicate that it once had a foot and two handles, though the manner in which the beaded rim is cut away suggests that

the handles might have been later additions. In any event they were of different form than that once on the Malibu cup. The convex molding at the rim of the British Museum kantharos, part of the inner liner, not the figured outer casing, recalls the offset convex molding here.

In shape the Getty cup is also related to a series of silver *kalathoi* of late Roman Republican or early Imperial date all of which, though flat-bottomed, have comparable concave sides and most of which have convex moldings at the rim.²³ One from Vize in eastern Thrace, now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, has a handle in the form of a fully modelled Eros clutching a butterfly reminiscent of the Erotes on the Malibu cup.²⁴ An echo of the shape of the British Museum and Malibu cups occurs on a number of free-blown glass cups of early Roman imperial

21. D. E. L. Haynes, *The Portland Vase*, The British Museum, 1964, pl. XII; B. Maiuri, *Musei e Monumenti*, Museo Nazionale di Napoli, 1957, pp. 144–145, ill.

22. P. E. Corbett and D. E. Strong, *British Museum Quarterly* 23, 1961, pp. 68–83, pls. XXXI–XXXIV; S. Haynes, *Antike Kunst* 4, 1961, pp. 30–36, pl. 15; E. Künzl, *JRGZM* 22, 1975, p. 71, pl. 20.1.

23. E. Künzl, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 169, 1969, pp. 321–392.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 331–333, figs. 9–11; A. M. Mansel, *AA*, 56, 1941, cols. 159–162, 167–168, figs. 25–28.

25. Sale cat. American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, 15–16 January 1937, lot 63.

26. The Corning Museum of Glass, *Glass from the Ancient World; The Ray Winfield Smith Collection*, 1957, p. 123, no. 219, ill; Sale cat. Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 20–21 November 1975, lot 514.



Figure 12. Silver cup, Getty 75.AI.56, detail of Eros.

date not later than the mid-1st century A.D. which share the distinctive swelling of the lower body, a convex rim molding, and a small splayed foot made—blown in the case of the glasses—separately from the body. One such glass was once in the New York collection of George D. Pratt;²⁵ another, if indeed it is another and not identical with the Pratt cup, was once in the collection of Ray Winfield Smith.²⁶

Although Eroses with musical instruments, flying or otherwise disposed, are commonplace in early Roman art—a flying cupid with a syrinx for example is represented on a Campanian wall painting in Naples²⁷—it is likely that this motif, like that of Eroses with garlands, stems from Pergamene art. Certainly the technique of applying the separately cast figure to the turned vase wall does, as we have seen above in the case of the Pergamene cups with

representations of Eroses with garlands. The shape of the cup itself is also Pergamene. Jörg Schäfer has already compared the British Museum kantharos—comparable in shape to the cup here—to ceramic kantharoi from Pergamon.²⁸ In the Museum at Pella in Greece is a tall cup of Pergamene fabric, identical in shape to a Pergamene example in the British Museum illustrated by Schäfer, that has separately made and applied representations of herms alternating with draped and dancing figures playing auloi.²⁹ The latter are close in spirit to the Eroses shown here. That youthful Eroses were also standard Hellenistic decoration is shown by the figure of an Eros on the lid of a silver pyxis in Berlin³⁰ and a set of four gold appliques in the form of youthful Eroses in Hamburg of late Hellenistic date (ca. 100 B.C.) holding a torch, taenia, mask, and stringed musical instrument.³¹ Their hair is parted in the center in a manner similar to the hair on one of the Eroses carrying garlands on the pair of Malibu cups. (Fig. 7).

The silver pitcher (Figs. 13–16), the largest object in the collection, has a pear-shaped body raised from a single sheet of metal and a distinctively shaped neck and mouth: the neck is triangular in cross-section, its angled curves setting it off from the rounded body, while the opening of the mouth is hour-glass shaped rather than trefoil, its sides sharply constricted and raised to form two horn-like projections. The rim is turned down all around. The foot, hammered separately and soldered to the bottom of the pitcher like an upside down dish, has concentric moldings on the underside. The handle, and the ivy-wreathed satyr's mask, separate from the handle proper, were both cast and likewise soldered to the pitcher. The handle has a thumb-like projection—for the thumb—at the top of the curve, and a sequence of curlicues on the crescent-shaped attachment on the mouth, whose contours repeat the curlicues found on the handles on the pair of cups.

In the catalogue of the silver exhibition at Toledo, Kansas City, and Fort Worth, I drew attention to two silver pitchers of identical type from Boscoreale now in the Louvre, decorated with figured reliefs³² and remarked that the shape goes back to Egyptian faience pitchers of the third and second century B.C. and to earlier Greek pottery.³³ In fact the shape is that of an Attic pitcher, the *chous* (or *oinochoe* shape 3) that shares with the silver not

27. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii*, p. 98, fig. 155.

28. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik*, p. 69, fn. 22.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 86, fig. 5.4. Showing the British Museum Cup. I noted the example in Pella in August 1979.

30. U. Gehrig, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 90, 1977, pp. 5–12, figs. 4–5.

31. H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, Brooklyn 1965, p. 282, no. 132, ill.

32. Héron de Villefosse, *Mon Piot* 5, 1899, pp. 47–52, nos. 3–4, pls. 3–4; F. Baratte in *Pompéi*, Petit Palais exh. cat., 1973, no. 220, ill.; E. Künzl, *JRGZM* 22, 1975, p. 66, pl. 21.1.

33. D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, 1973, esp. pp. 13–14.

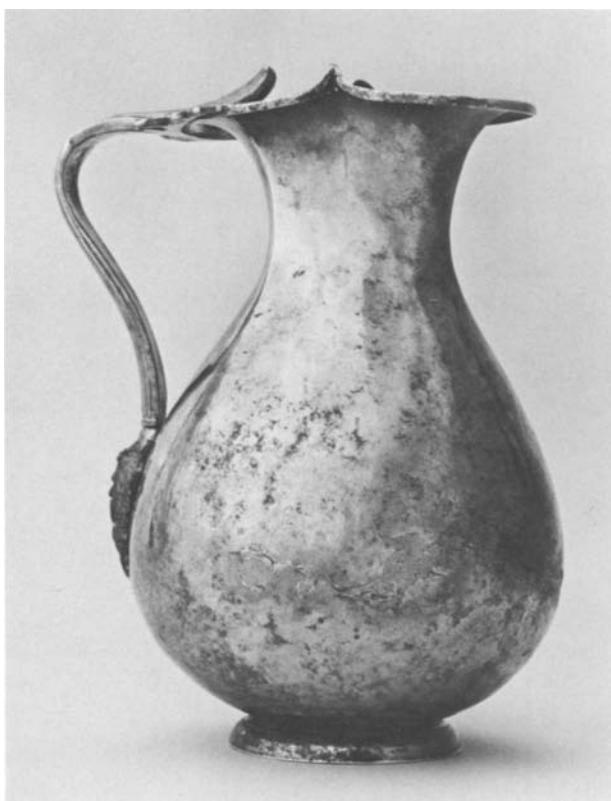


Figure 13. Silver pitcher, Getty 75.AI.57, right profile.

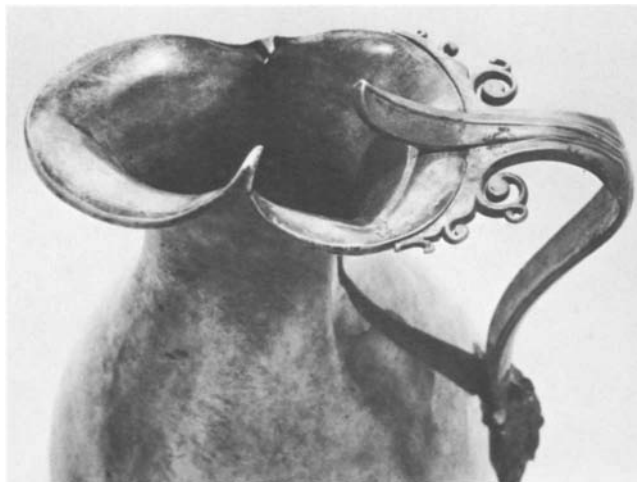


Figure 14. Silver pitcher, Getty 75.AI.57, detail of mouth.



Figure 15. Silver pitcher, Getty 75.AI.57, back.



Figure 16. Silver pitcher, Getty 75.AI.57, detail of mask.

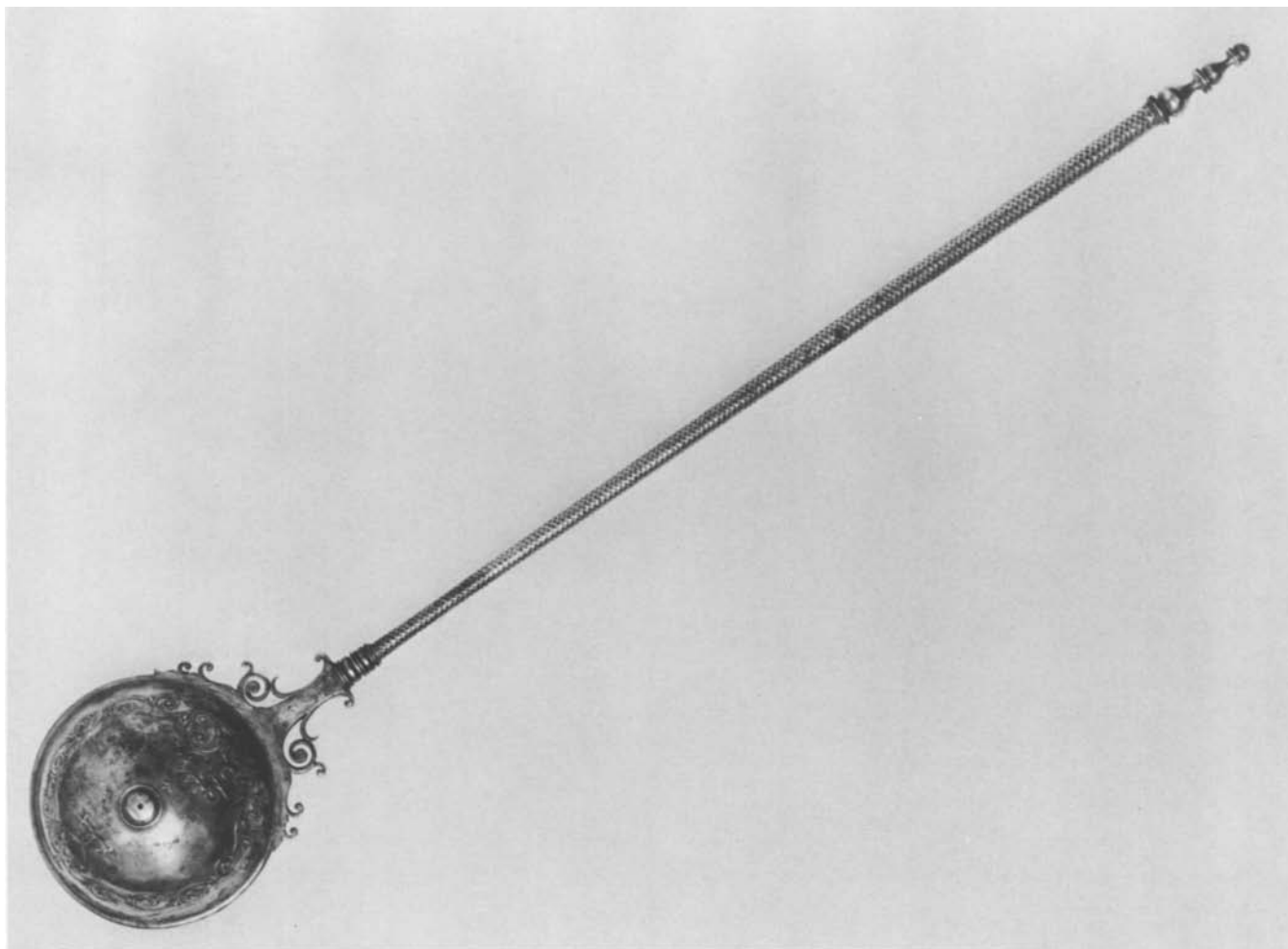


Figure 17. Silver ladle, Getty 75.AI.58.



Figure 18. Silver ladle, Getty 75.AI.58, detail of bowl.

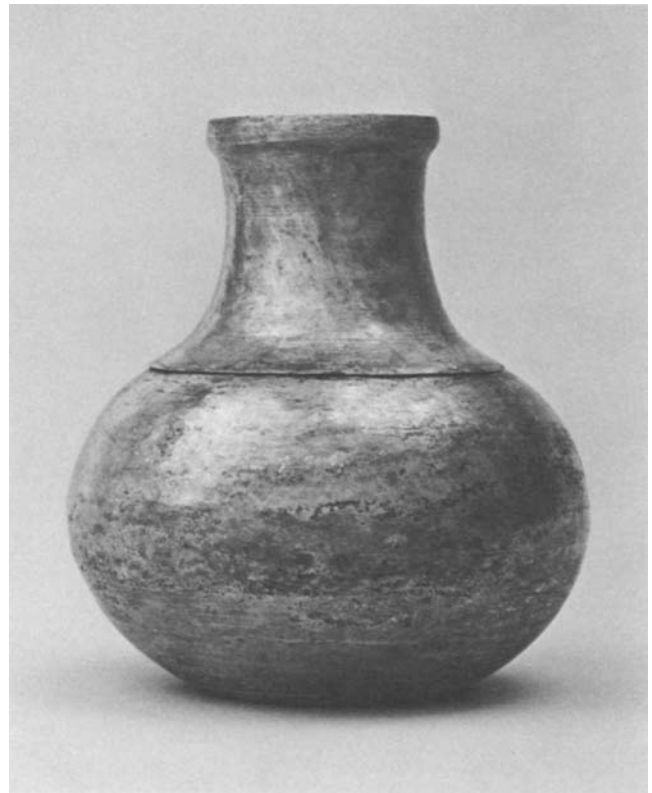


Figure 19. Silver jar, Getty 75.AI.59.

only the general profile but the exaggeratedly pinched sides of the mouth.³⁴ The handles on the ceramic version lack, however, a projecting thumb tang on the top.

The ladle (Figs. 17–18)—or stirrer as it may be—was made in two parts, bowl and handle, each cast separately and soldered together. The interior of the bowl is plain, the exterior or underside has a central molding and a wreath formed by two tendrils springing forth from an acanthus leaf situated near the handle attachment. The stem of the handle, unusually long, is faceted; it has a molded finial at its extremity, and a bead and reel molding at its junction to the flattened crescent-shaped attachment. As on the pair of cups and pitcher the contours of this attachment display a sequence of curlicues.

A similar object in silver was found with the collection of silver from Boscoreale, now in the Louvre.³⁵ There the handle is hexagonal in cross-section and the moldings greatly simplified compared to those on the Malibu ladle. The long handle on this and the Boscoreale ladle suggest that the objects were intended as stirrers, to swirl wine

and water in a large krater. Faceting on handles is not found elsewhere on late Republican or Roman imperial silver, but it does occur on the stems of two Greek ladles of the canonical type that have the handle attached upright from the bowl: a late sixth century B.C. silver ladle from Asia Minor in the Metropolitan Museum³⁶ and a late fifth or early fourth century B.C. silver ladle in the collection of Norbert Schimmel.³⁷

The silver jar (Fig. 19) was fashioned from two pieces of silver, raised separately and fitted together so that the upper piece, forming the neck of the jar, overlaps the lower piece, the body of the jar, with a visible seam where they join at the shoulder. Hammer marks are apparent everywhere despite a rudimentary attempt to smooth the surface by spinning the jar. A domed lid might once have fitted over the mouth. It is also likely that the jar once possessed two 'S' shaped handles rising from shoulder to lip. A silver jar of identical shape and size, from an early first century A.D. tomb near Homs, ancient Emesa, in Syria, and now in Damascus, is equipped with two such

34. B. A. Sparks and L. Talcott, *Agora XII, Black and Plain Pottery*, 1970, p. 245, nos. 127–129, pl. 7.

35. MNC 2024; Héron de Villefosse, *MonPiot* 5, 1899, p. 111, no. 55, pl. XXIV, no. 3; length 39.2 cm.

36. K. E. Meyer, *The Plundered Past*, 1973, ill. [pl. 14] between pp. 100–101.

37. H. Hoffmann in O. W. Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art, The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, 1974, no. 73, ill.

38. H. Seyrig, *Syria* XXIX, 1952, p. 246, fig. 27.

39. Oliver, *Silver for the Gods*, p. 85, no. 48, ill. (The object is in Damascus, not Beirut, as I erroneously stated in the reference cited).

40. Inv. 2144. Unpublished.

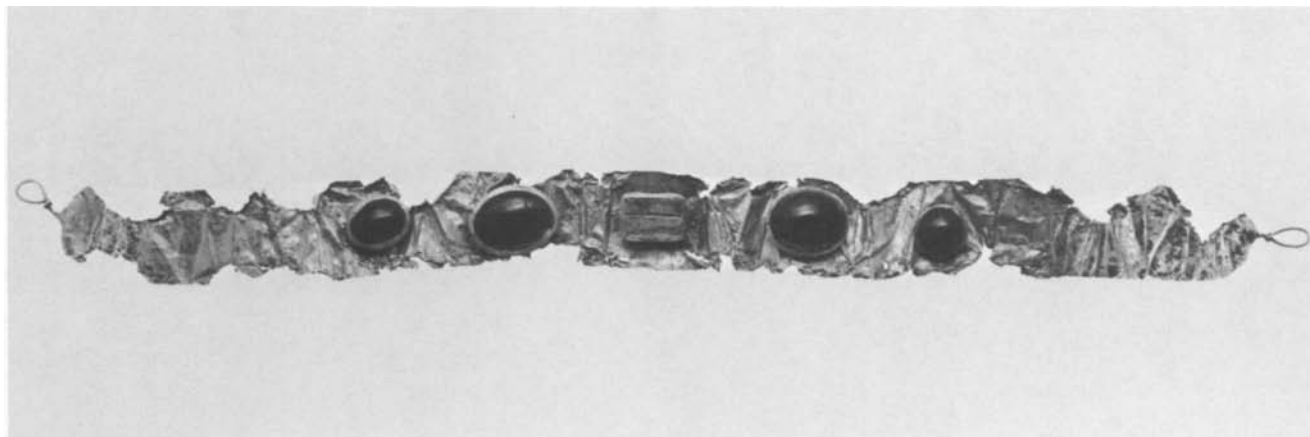


Figure 20. Gold leaf diadem, Getty 75.AI.60.

handles.³⁸ The shape is relatively common in bronze though rare in silver. A silver jar from Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum has a fluted body, moldings at the shoulder and on the neck, and a lid.³⁹ Another silver jar in the Kayseri Museum, Turkey, has a plain body, tall narrow neck and a lid.⁴⁰ No examples are known in the Campanian hoards. The workmanship of this is inferior to that of the rest of the silver.

Two pieces of gold jewelry came with the silver, a diadem and a ring. The gold leaf diadem (Fig. 20) has five glass inlays set in gold mounts, the mounts individually wired to the diadem. The gold leaf is crumpled, its edges torn and ragged, but the ends are preserved and still retain the terminal wire loops by which it was secured. Gold leaf diadems were a standard part of Greek jewelry both in real life and for the grave from at least as early as the seventh century B.C. Rhodian examples of the archaic period were ornamented with separately made gold rosettes.⁴¹ Gold leaf bands, either embossed with figural or floral decorations, or plain, were standard in the fifth and

fourth centuries and throughout the Hellenistic period. Glass or semiprecious inlays mounted on the gold leaf first occur in the late Hellenistic period. One of the earliest is from a tomb at Eretria, displaying a sequence of embossed heads alternating with semiprecious stones mounted on the surface of the diadem.⁴² Other gold leaf diadems set with glass or stones are known, all dated to the Roman imperial period, but none with a precise provenance. A fragmentary example in the British Museum, said to be from Tortus, Syria, has a mounted onyx intaglio showing Fortuna,⁴³ a complete one in Berlin, said to be from Asia Minor, has a glass cameo showing the profile portrait of a woman identified as Livia and dated to the years 20–10 B.C.⁴⁴ Another with mounted stones is in the Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.⁴⁵ The gold ring has a stone engraved with the head identified by Jiří Frel as that of the Polykleitan Doryphoros (Figs. 21–22).

A gold aureus, said to have been associated with the silver tableware and gold jewelry, was not acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, having been sold earlier at auction in

41. R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 1961, p. 105, pl. 19A.

42. G. A. Papavasileiou, *Peri ton en Euboia Archaion Taphon* (in Greek), 1910, col. 55, pl. 1D.2.

43. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, 1911, p. 364, no. 3044, pl. LXX. Marshall reports it was from a tomb at Tortosa, the old

name of modern Tortus, a seaport of Syria. Very likely it was acquired at Tortosa, a collecting point for antiquities found in the region.

44. Inv. 1960, 33; A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, vol. II, 1975, p. 13, pl. 3.2 and 6.

45. W. Rudolph and E. Rudolph, *Ancient Jewelry from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry*, 1973, p. 220, no. 173, ill.



Figure 21. Gold ring, Getty 75.A1.60.



Figure 22. Gold ring, Getty 75.A1.61, detail of bezel with profile head of Polykleitos' Doryphoros.

Europe.⁴⁶ It is an issue of Mark Anthony struck in Asia Minor in 34 B.C.⁴⁷ If we assume the silver and jewelry came from a burial, the presence of the coin can be explained as "Charon's fee." The practice of placing a coin, usually bronze, more rarely silver or gold, in the deceased's mouth or hand to pay the ferry man Charon over the river Styx in the underworld was widespread in the Greek world.⁴⁸ Gold coins of Philip II, were found in graves at Nikesiani,⁴⁹ and in two of the tombs at Derveni.⁵⁰

More to the point, however, are two burials at Kayseri (ancient Caesarea) in central Turkey. One of them from a site called Bestepeler, excavated in 1940, contained gold jewelry, silver vessels, pottery, and a gold aureus of Julius Caesar of 46 B.C. Though unpublished, the objects are on exhibition in the archaeological museum of Kayseri.⁵¹ The other, a burial in the tumulus near Gültepe Park in the center of Kayseri excavated in August 1971 contained some 30 objects, likewise now in view in the Kayseri

Museum, including gold jewelry, vases of silver, agate, rock crystal and terracotta, and a gold aureus of Augustus of A.D. 15.⁵² These two burials containing silverware, jewelry, and an aureus apiece are strikingly parallel to the alleged tomb group in the J. Paul Getty Museum and strongly suggest that the coin of Mark Antony could indeed have been found with the silver and jewelry.

Where was the silver produced? Was it made in Italy, at Rome or Capua, for instance, by a Greek silversmith working in the traditions of Asia Minor decorative arts, and then sent east as a gift to a provincial official? Or, was it manufactured in one of any number of eastern cities where we may reasonably assume silversmithing flourished in the late hellenistic period, at Pergamon, Ephesus, Tarsus, or Antioch, for example? It is not possible to say. As for the date of its manufacture and use, however, I think we may reasonably propose the third quarter of the first century B.C.

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46. See above n. 3

47. E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, 1952, p. 194, no. 1207.

48. D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 1971, p. 211.

49. G. Daux, *BCH* 84, 1960, pp. 799-800, fig. 13.

50. Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike, *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* [1978], p. 69, nos. 235 & 240.

51. Seen in the summer of 1974.

52. *Anatolian Studies* XXII, 1972, p. 48; *AJA* 77, 1973, p. 191.

Additional Observations on a Set of Archaic Greek Finger Rings in the Getty Museum

The fifteen Greek silver rings are all decorated with intaglio devices.¹ Their special significance lies in the fact that they are a homogeneous group said to come from Gela.

ANALYSIS

A selective spectrographic analysis was performed on five of the rings (nos. 1, 2, 4, 9 and A) by Professor Henry Chessin of the Physics Department at the State University of New York at Albany in January 1972. Two interesting observations resulted (see Table 1). First, the content of lead in the silver was shown to be negligible in all cases, proving that the silver was of good quality. The solder in the joins contained some lead, as could be expected.² Professor Chessin found, however, that the silver had been debased with a relatively high proportion of tin. This circumstance came as something of a surprise, since silver was usually alloyed with copper when debasing was desired, especially for coins.³ The silver content in the five rings varies between 78 and 85%, the tin content from about 15 to 21%. It seems as though the silversmith melted together a certain number of silver and tin ingots of standard weight, varying the proportion according to the demands of his client or his own judgment and prob-

ably adding the leftover scraps of alloyed silver from previous work to every new batch of metal. The metals may even have been furnished by the customer.⁴

GROUP 1

Three rings, the Reclining Lion (9), the Griffin (10), and the Duck (A) seem to be the work of one craftsman. The Rooster (7) may possibly be added to this group. The diameters of all four rings are almost identical, while they differ from those of all the other rings with the exception of no. 6. Their relatively equal states of preservation also suggest that they may have been found in the same deposit. The hoop of the Rooster shows a great deal more damage from corrosion than is present in the other three. This may indicate the effect of different surroundings; however, its diameter is similar to the other three rings.

All four rings have several stylistic features in common. The border is carefully executed, even on the Lion ring (9) where it has lost some of its sharpness due to corrosion. On the Duck (A) it may have been produced with the use of a punching tool. The most striking feature that distinguishes these rings is that the animal device overlaps the border at several points. The figures reach a high degree of

In the spring of 1971 I brought to Pennsylvania State University a group of fifteen Greek silver rings and suggested their investigation to Mrs. Brigitta Strelka as a possible Master's thesis topic. Her work began the next spring and the final thesis was accepted by the Art History Department of the New York University at Albany in November of 1975. Mrs. Strelka wishes to thank her advisor Professor Overbeck and Professor M. Frinta for valuable help. Jerome Eisenberg generously allowed the study of the rings when they were in his possession.

Thirteen of the fifteen rings found their way to the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1972 and were published by Elizabeth T. Buckley in the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* (vol. 1, 1974, pp. 27-32, "A Set of Archaic Greek Jewelry"). As Mrs. Strelka's thesis provides some new observations, relevant portions have been summarized here. The two rings not in Malibu are referred to as A and B; Mrs. Buckley's numbering is used for the thirteen in the museum.

1. Illustrations are approximately 2:1. The photographs were taken by Professor Peter T. Fürst, Professor of Anthropology, State University of New York at Albany. As this article was in press, five more rings of identical shape and comparable subject matter, said to be from Selinus, are coming on loan to the Getty Museum, see J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings from a Private Collection* (1975) nos. 63-67.

2. However, there is very little evidence for soft solder, containing tin and lead, before Hellenistic and Roman times. See R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry* (1961) 34 and D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (1966) 9. Usually hard solder was used, consisting of silver and copper.

3. L. Aitchison, *A History of Metals* (1960) I, 181, Table 13. The presence of tin in our ring is in contradiction of Aitchison's statement p. 79 that practically all tin used before Roman times was put into bronze. (The ancients, in fact, considered tin a variant of lead.)

4. Strong, op. cit., 15, and Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (1968) 176.

TABLE 1:

RING NO.	SUBJECT	DIAM. (M)	WEIGHT (G)	% SILVER	% TIN
1	Charging lion	.0262	16.00	84	15
2	Eagle & dolphin	.0256	12.2	83	16
3	Ketos	.0231	6.00		
4	Reclining lion	.0243	6.15	78	21
5	Crayfish 1	.0213	2.75		
6	Crayfish 2	.0218	4.50		
7	Rooster	.0222	2.90		
8	Lizard	.0217	2.70		
9	Reclining lion	.0227	4.65	83	16
10	Griffin	.0226	3.00		
11	Dog/griffin	.0211	2.08		
12	Eye/aphract	.0206	2.70		
13	Helios?	.0212	2.00		
A	Feeding duck	.0216	3.20	81	18
B	Insect	.0179	1.79		

naturalism, although the artist relies on several formal conventions. He renders rough textures by covering the surface with little punched dots. This method serves to convey the duck's feathers as well as the lion's mane. The treatment of the haunches of his lion contrasts with that of no. 1 by another silversmith.

The Griffin (10) in this group is of the Archaic Greek type current before roughly 500 B.C. During the fifth century, griffins acquired a spiny, fin-like mane and their Archaic turned-up sickle-shaped wings were replaced with bird-like wings that point downward.⁵ Our griffin has the long ears and forehead knob of a type which prevailed on the Greek mainland rather than in the islands.⁶ The Lion (9), on the other hand, corresponds to an eastern rather than Peloponnesian type.⁷ While it lacks the characteristic ruff of Greek lions, it has the long back mane of eastern ones.⁸ The Feeding Duck (A), one of the two rings not at the Getty Museum, was probably a woman's ring since the care of domesticated ducks was part of women's household work and because the duck (like the goose and swan) was associated with the cult of Aphrodite and was popular in women's jewelry.

The fact that these four rings, attributable to one hand, display a variety of diverse stylistic conventions confirms

the assumption that they were produced in the West, an area that was on the periphery of artistic centers and that received and absorbed artistic impulses from both the Ionic East and mainland Greece.

GROUP 2

The Charging Lion (1) and the Eagle and Dolphin (2) form the next group. One reason: they are much heavier than all the others. Although they fit on a large hand, the bulging hoops make them uncomfortable to wear in contrast to the other rings. Perhaps they were worn as pendant seals around the neck.

The style of these two rings is not incompatible, but comparison is somewhat difficult because the surface of the Eagle and Dolphin ring is not as well preserved as that of the Charging Lion. One characteristic feature of the artisan is his combination of both sculptural modeling and linear design. While the bodies are without distinct outlines, there is careful articulation of the muscles and the mane by means of soft undulations of the sculptural planes. The legs, paws, and thighs, however, are hardly more than lines.

The Lion (1) is an eastern one, having a large head, ears, and cheeks, but no pronounced ruff. He has no back

5. Mane: Boardman, *Greek Gems and Fingerrings* (1970) nos. 181 (pl. 313), 194 and 198. Wings: *Ibid.*, no. 146 (pl. 361).

6. Ears and forehead knob: Boardman, *Island Gems* (1963) 58 and *Archaic Greek Gems* 136. For a discussion of griffins in Greek art, see also Ziegler, "Gryps," *RE* 7, pt. 2.

7. Eastern lions: Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* nos. 129, 132, 133. Also W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (1960) 28ff.

8. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 129.

9. *Ibid.*, 132-134.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 128, pl. 388 and G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and Etruscans* (1968) no. 130 (57-58), no. 169 (66), no. 182 (67), no. 180 (68).

11. J. Boardman, "Etruscan and South Italian Finger Rings in Oxford," *BSR* 34 (1966) 6, no. 12. See also D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (1971) 216 f. on nails.



Figure 1. Feeding duck, no. A. Present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 2. Flying insect, no. B. Present whereabouts unknown.

mane but belly hair instead, a feature that links him with the Ionian East. This feature is duplicated on some examples of Boardman's *Aristoteiches* Group,⁹ placed in East Greece but closer to Magna Graecia it also appears on several specimens of Caeretan hydriai. The two pellets (the one next to the lion's head is developed into a palmette) are probably vestiges of earlier times, when they were randomly used to fill in empty space though here they are logically subordinated to the unity of the design.¹⁰

The remaining rings are much more difficult to classify. The lion on ring 4 is very small with only the barest indication of details, but the treatment of the mane is decidedly eastern. The round drilled hole perforating the bezel once held a gold stud, now lost. The insertion of gold nails (sometimes two or more) was quite common on silver rings, not only on those of our type. Many rings have been found with their gold nails preserved. The practice, which began around 600 B.C., was believed to bestow magical properties.¹¹ The nails are not restricted to a fixed position on the rings but are often placed without regard to the design, a positive indication that they were not thought of merely as additional ornaments. In antiquity, but also later, nails were believed to have the power of driving away illness and bad luck. Many statements in classical literature attest to this belief. Nails were driven not only into rings—which were considered good luck charms in their own right¹²—but also into lead tablets with magical inscriptions on them, and even into the wall of the cella of Minerva in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter in Rome.¹³

The two Crayfish (nos. 5 and 6) are nearly identical copies, as far as can be determined from their poor state of

preservation. Perhaps they were turned out by the same artisan or the same shop. It should be mentioned that the particular variety of crustacean represented is the *Palinurus vulgaris*, the large crayfish of the Mediterranean, which lacks the powerful pincer claws of the *Homarus gammarus* (the true lobster of the North Atlantic) and other members of the *Homarus* species.¹⁴ Although the lobster abounds around the coastal bays of Sicily, it is not a common motif in Greek art. In fact, its image is almost completely missing from the marine fauna depicted on coins, engraved gems, metal rings, and vases, while other marine creatures such as the dolphin and crab are quite frequent. Significantly, however, a crayfish does appear on the coinage of Tarentum around 440 B.C.¹⁵

The device on ring no. 3 shows the most typical version of the Greek Ketos or seasnake.¹⁶ The ketos is a creature quite distinct from the hippocamp in conception as well as iconography and was introduced into Greek mythology from the East by way of Rhodes as an integral part of the Andromeda legend.¹⁷ It is usually represented with the head of a mammal, the body of a snake, and the tail of a fish. The head has pointed ears, a long snout, and sharp teeth. On our example there is also an indication of a mane and of fins on the underside of the body.

No. 12, the ring with a linear ornament incised on its bezel, stands apart from the rest. It has a relatively symmetrical shape and its surface is carefully polished. But in contrast to these signs of good craftsmanship, the design and double hatched border were both executed with haste and lack of precision. At first sight, the design invites identification as a crown, or the rays of the sun behind the horizon, or (when turned the other way) a neck-

12. F. H. Marshall, "Antique Rings Pierced with Gold Nails," *JHS* 24 (1904) 334.

13. *Ibid.*, 333.

14. T. R. Stebbing, *A History of Crustacea* (1893) 27 and 195 ff.

15. See C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (1965) 119 and pl. 19, no. 13. Another crayfish occurs on the coins of Catana around 415 B.C. (C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (1966) pl. 13, nos. 38 and 39). For a

list of representations of crayfish/lobsters in Greek art see Gossen-Steier in *RE* 11, pt. 2, 1681.

16. Cf. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* 121 and 187, no. 433. For a list of representations of the Ketos on painted vases see Dresler, *Roscher* II, pt. 1, 1178 f.

17. K. Tümpel, *Roscher* II, pt. 1, 111; however, E. Kuhnert, *RE* III, pt. 2, 2020 f., thinks that the Andromeda legend was native to Greece and spread to the east.

lace, a closed eye, etc. Probably, though, it represents an aphract, or open galley with its many oars.

The second of the rings that did not travel to the Getty Museum is also the smallest of the fifteen rings, no. B. It probably belonged to a child. The light weight, flimsy construction, and shallow cutting rule out regular use as a signet. The long body and slender wings of the bezel design identify the insect as a wasp,¹⁸ perhaps an apotropaic

image for one of the commonest hazards of childhood.

The repertory of the rings seem to stem from East Greek art. Perhaps some more direct links can be established with Rhodes, the founder of Gela—the findspot and probably also the place of the rings' manufacture. The style of the group, as far as can be analyzed, corresponds well to the artistic traditions of Greek Sicily.¹⁹

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SUPPLEMENTARY ENTRIES

A. *Feeding duck* facing left. Hatched border. The hoop was left open and its ends are clean cut; traces of solder on their lower edges. Excellent condition.

B. *Flying insect*, probably wasp. No border, no hatching. Edges of the hoop joined together, but the solder partly fallen out. Slightly irregular hoop. Rubbed surface. Part of the bezel broken off and reglued with modern adhesive.

18. Cf. the representations of insects in Richter, *Engraved Gems*, nos. 475, 477, 478, 479 and Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, no. 505.

19. As this article was in press, five more rings of identical shape and comparable subject matter, said to be from Selinus, are coming on loan to the Getty Museum, see J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings from a Private Collection* (1975) nos. 63–67.

A *Larva Convivalis* in the Getty Museum

With his arms now missing and only the upper part of one leg remaining, the small bronze skeleton (Fig. 1),¹ called by the Romans *larva convivalis*, is quiet. But he must once have jumped and danced, reminding his Roman owner of the brevity of human life and the necessity of profiting from the short time which remained. In addition to the skeleton in the Getty Museum, ten other small skeletons are known, one in silver, one in wood, and the remainder in bronze.² They immediately recall the philosopher skeletons represented on the Boscoreale cup.³ Similar little specters are also found on two glass kantharoi⁴ and on a terra cotta beaker.⁵ Skeletons are not rare in Roman art; they occur singly or in pairs on mosaics,⁶ lamps,⁷ terra sigillata ware,⁸ on engraved gemstones,⁹ a glass paste,¹⁰ and on a silver intaglio ring.¹¹ Skeletons figure in two other gems as secondary subjects. On one, a skeleton is the focus of a man's contemplation, and on the other, a man uses a hammer on a smaller skeleton (perhaps a craftsman building a skeleton?)¹² But perhaps the most famous skeleton of antiquity is the jangling skeleton that Petronius had accompany the serving of wine at Tri-

malchio's banquet.¹³

All of the small bronze skeletons have much in common stylistically. The Dresden example (Fig. 2)¹⁴ is so similar to the Getty skeleton that one might be tempted to see them as products of the same workshop. They both share the same method of attachment for the legs and head, an equal number of ribs divided by an incised sternum, and an almost solid back with a bowl-like termination at the base of the pelvis, which is pierced by a hole. Though the formation of the heads is comparable, the Dresden skeleton lacks the articulated nose and toothy grin of the Malibu bronze. A partially preserved skeleton in Munich¹⁵ also shows many similarities to the Getty specimen (Fig. 3). The collarbones, ribs, and sternum are conceived in a similar manner. An identical approach is employed for the head attachment, the "body" has a solid back, and the same cupping in the pelvic area is evident. But the visage is different from both the Dresden and Malibu examples; he has more deeply carved eyes, a prominent upturned nose, and an insignificant mandible.

The unanatomical rendering of the bones, a feature

1. Acc. no. 78.AB.307. Presented by Bruce McNall, preserved height 6.6 cm.

2. Silver: Naples, Museo Nazionale (from Pompeii). Caetani-Lovatelli, *MonAnt*, 1895, p. 6ff., fig. 1.

Wood: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, Inv. no. 20472. *Östlicher Stulterbau am Charlottenburg*, 1967, p. 96, no. 956.

Bronze: Berlin, Antikenabteilung, Inv. no. 30141. Gehrig, Greifenhagen, Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, 1968, p. 204; London, British Museum (from the Pourtales Collection, no. 693), *AA*, 1889, p. 107; Dresden Skulpturensammlung (from the Dressel Collection), Inv. no. Zv. 499, *AA*, 1889, pp. 106–7 (Fig. 2); Paris, Louvre (from the Campana Collection), Inv. no. 691; Munich, Antikensammlungen, no. Inv. no. F182/20 (Fig. 3); Paris, Louvre (from the Courtot Collection, from Etruria), Reinach IV, p. 440; Perugia, Belucci Collection, Caetani-Lovatelli, p. 6ff.; Rouen, Reinach III, p. 205.

3. D'Héron de Villefosse, *MonPiot* V, 1899, p. 224ff.

4. Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. CA 1486. Pottier, *RA* I, 1903, p. 12 sq; and another, almost identical kantharos found in Olbia, *AA*, 1911, col. 229, fig. 37.

5. The d'Heudebouville beaker (de Witte, *CRAI*, 1886, p. 389).

6. The skeletons on the mosaic from Pompeii, Casa delle Vestali VI, 1, 7, are very like those on the Göttingen bluepaste (see below n. 9). Also, Pernice, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii*, VI, pavement 110. A skeleton mosaic in the Museo delle Terme was made in the same outline manner.

7. G. Cart, *La revue du Louvre*, X, 1978, pp. 293–295, with bibl.

8. Stenico, *La ceramica arretina* I, 1960, pl. 14, fig. 78; Romulo-Rig-hetti, *RendPontAcc* 30/31, 1959, 227, fig. 31; Dragendorff, *Terra sigillata*, 62, Pl. 3.3; Caetani-Lovatelli, figs. 4–8; Gamurrini, *NotSc*, 1884, p. 379.

9. Amethyst: Burton Y. Berry Collection, Indiana University Art Museum Publication, 1965, no. 92, n.d.;

Haematite: Berlin, no. 20407, first-fourth century A.D., *AGD* I, 2797;

Chalcedon: Hannover, Inv. K. 1038, first century B.C., *AGD* IV, no. 4 68;

Sardonyx: Berlin, no. 6519, Fürtwangler *AG* II, 50;

Sard: Berlin, no. FG 6518. *AGD* I, no. 421;

Carnelian: Florence, *Mus. Arch.*, no. 15667.

10. Blue glass paste: Göttingen, Inv. G 666, third century A.D. *AGD* III, 618.

11. Silver intaglio: Cab. des Médailles, gift of Pauvert de la Chapelle, 1899, from Rome. Babelon, *Chapelle*, no. 160.

12. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung des geschmittenen Steine im Antiquarium* 1896, 4257, pl. 33 (black paste) and 7688, pl. 57 (sard).

13. Petronius, *Satyricon*, XXXIV.

14. Thanks are due to Martin Raumschüssel for the photographs and helpful kindness. Bronze, 6.9 cm. high. From the Dressel Collection, Rome, 1885.

15. Knowledge of this skeleton is due to Martin Raumschüssel.

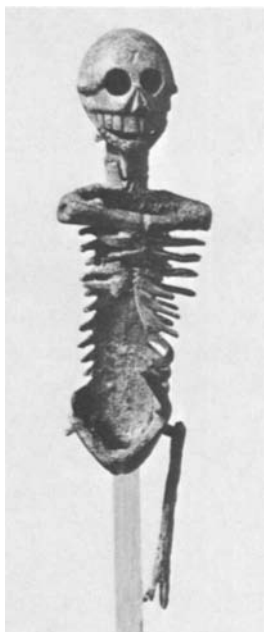


Figure 1. Bronze skeleton. Malibu.

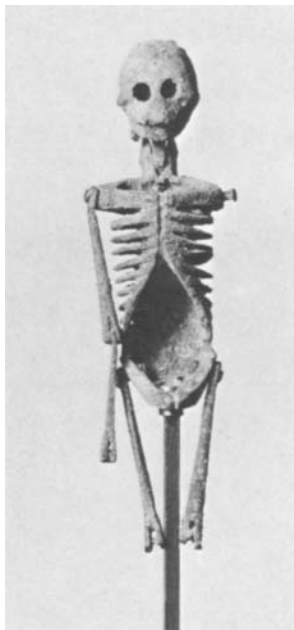


Figure 2. Bronze Skeleton. Dresden, Skulpturensammlung.



Figure 3. Bronze Skeleton. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen. Photo: Michael Maass.

shared by all the skeletons, reveals the artists' and craftsmen's lack of scientific accuracy. It was perhaps more important that the bony specters were lively; hence; their articulations and resulting fluid and dancing movements were emphasized.

Though the admonition to enjoy our short life is stated already by the wooden effigy of Herodotus,¹⁶ the popular representations of skeletons as *memento mori* are thoroughly Roman.¹⁷ Roman, too, is the connection made between the drinking of wine and the imagery of skeletons, most strongly stated by Petronius' skeleton, the Boscoreale and d'Heudebouville cups, and the two glass kantharoi. The gemstones and intaglio ring with the representations of amphorae provide another link. Could the small hand-sized skeletons have been used as entertaining accompaniments to a drinking feast?

With the possible exception of the boxed wooden skeleton from Egypt, the remainder of the skeletons should be dated to the same period that produced the Boscoreale

cup, the glass kantharoi, the terra sigillata, and the majority of the gemstones—the first century B.C. to the first century A.D.—an era marked by a renewal of interest in and a spread of Epicurean philosophy in the Roman world. Supplementary evidence for a direct relationship between Roman Epicureanism and skeletons may be provided by an engraved onyx in Berlin.¹⁸ Represented on the gem is a bearded man seated on a throne. He holds a scroll and contemplates a skull which lies on a *scrinium*.¹⁹ A butterfly darts above it. The lion-footed throne, the pose of the figure, and the features of the elongated head suggest that the figure may be Epikouros.²⁰ The subject of the seated philosopher also appears on several glass pastes.²¹ One of them was published by Winckelmann²² who interpreted it as a Platonic vision of the immortality of the soul, which pointed the way for Furtwängler who was the first to recognize the Epicurean connection of the *larvae convivalis*.

Faya Causey Frel
Malibu

16. Herodotus, II, 78.

17. In addition to the authors cited above this topic has been treated in detail by G. Treu, *De ossium humanorum larvarumque apud antiquos imaginibus*, 1847; Le Blant, *Mémoires de l'École de Rome*, 1887, p. 251 sq.; and O. Zahn, *Berl. Mus.* 35, 1913/14, 292ff; *BWpr.* 81, 1923, 1ff, pl. 1-2.

18. A. 1708, AGD I, 953, pl. 109. Unfortunately the striped sardonix in Berlin (A. 1709, AGD I, 954, pl. 109) with a seated bald philosopher contemplating a complete skeleton, must be modern (E. Diehl: "Echtheit nicht ganz sicher.") The chair and the drapery are without ancient parallels, and the rendering of the skeleton, notably the lack of collarbones

and pelvic girdle, is unlike any other representation.

19. The subject of an isolated skull contemplated by a bystander(s) occurs on many engraved stones and glass pastes (including *Beschr.* 411-413, 1390, 4700 (pl. 34), 8296 (pl. 60)). N. Himmelman-Wildschütz has made a notable contribution to art historical literature on this theme, *Pantheon*, XXXI, 3, 1973, 229 sq.

20. Portrait heads of Epicurus were a popular subject in Roman times on gemstones.

21. *Beschr.* 4507, 4508, 4509, pl. 33.

22. Winckelmann, *Monumenti inediti*, Rome 1767, no. 170, p. 226.

Four Roman Votive Bronzes in the Getty Museum

Representative of the humble offerings made by the Roman worshipper to his gods are four small bronzes said to be from Asia Minor and now in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, an anonymous donation.¹ Three, identified by inscriptions, are dedications to Theos Hypsistos; a fourth piece, a figurine which is not inscribed, is associated with the cult of the Romano-Syrian god, Jupiter Dolichenus.²

The three inscribed bronzes came together and may therefore be considered as a votive group. The use of Greek, rather than Latin, is an indication of the group's eastern Mediterranean origin; the fabric and workmanship support its provenance as Asia Minor. Although I can cite no exact parallels for any of the three, the evidence suggests that they are dedications to Zeus Hypsistos, a healing god whose cult flourished in the Roman Imperial era.³ The use of the lunate *epsilon*, *sigma*, and *omega* indicates a date in the second or third century.⁴

1. Torso of a nude female. (Fig. 1) Inv. no. 77.AC.37

Preserved height including the stand: 0.094; maximum width: 0.080; average thickness of bronze: 0.002. Semi-lustrous green-black patina; rough interior surface.

Hollow-cast, bronze torso, headless and representing only the front of the torso with the stubs of arms. The edge of the neck is rough, suggesting that there may once have been a head (though not necessarily); and near the base of the neck there is a small horizontal crack. The piece is otherwise in excellent condition. Attached to the torso

just below the diaphragm is a small, flat, vertical projection, perhaps part of a stand. Across the chest and left shoulder of the figure is a clear-cut inscription in two lines: Μοσχίει εὐχὴν / Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ The dedicant, "Moschie, gives thanks to Theos Hypsistos" (sic).⁵

2. *Tabella ansata* with pendant decoration. (Fig. 2) Inv. no. 77.AC.38

Of the whole, maximum preserved height: 0.140; maximum preserved width: 0.077. Of the plaque without the frame, height: 0.048; width: 0.070; thickness of the bronze: 0.002. Slightly roughened surface; green patina.

The inscribed bronze plaque is framed on top and bottom by a horizontal bar; attached to the upper framing bar is a ring (presumably for hanging) with a branch pattern faintly incised, front and back, at the point where it joins the plaque.⁶ A similar pattern appears at the end of the inscription. One face of the plaque is inscribed with five lines of a dedicatory inscription: Θεόδωρος Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχαριστήριον "Theodoros gives thanks to Theos Hypsistos."⁷

Suspended from the lower framing bar is a more elaborate arrangement of attachments, now broken and too incomplete to fully understand. At first the curvilinear pendants at the bottom appear to be strictly decorative, and this seems true of the two reverse spirals at the outer edges. The central ovoid with the antler-like projections does vaguely resemble a stylized stag's head, but there is no trace of facial detail; instead, a herringbone pattern is incised on the front and back surfaces.⁸ Joined at this central motif, the "antlers," when viewed from the side, are certainly two

The abbreviations here follow the system used in *AJA*. All measurements are given in meters. All dates are A.D. unless noted otherwise.

1. I wish to thank Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for his kind permission to study the four bronzes discussed in this article.

2. For Theos Hypsistos, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 3 vols. (1914–1940), II, 876–890; *ibid.* III, 1162–1164; A. D. Nock, C. Roberts, and T. C. Skeats, *HTHR* 29 (1936) 39–88, especially 55–62; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* I (1971) 51; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971) 569–572; and J. M. R. Cormack, *Mélanges Helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (1974) 51–55. For Jupiter Dolichenus, Cook, *Zeus* I, 604–633; E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province* (1916) 255–257; F. Cumont, *Études Syriennes* (1917) 173–202; A. H. Kan, *Jupiter Dolichenus* (1943); P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du Jupiter Dolichenus* (1951); *idem*, *Jupiter Dolichenus* [Publications de l'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, 5] (1960); and F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme Romaine* (1963) 95–124.

3. References to Theos Hypsistos n. 2 *supra* are specifically to the cult of Zeus Hypsistos.

4. K. Kourouniotes and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 197–199, 200 n. 2. As Cook's list of sanctuaries indicates, most date from the early Imperial era; cf. *Zeus* II, 889–890; III, 944–945.

5. Although there appears to be no specific record of a woman's name, Μοσχίει, it is apparently the feminine form of the documented masculine name, Μόσχιος; F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Reverse Lexicon of Greek Proper-Names* (1978) 248.

6. For a similar branch pattern, cf. its use as a symbol of submission and respect in the cult of Zeus-Asklepios, Cook, *Zeus* II, 1076–1077 (dated ca. 306); in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus on a similar *tabella ansata*, Kan, *Dolichenus*, and no. 208a, Merlat *Répertoire*, no. 248 (dated ca. 222–235); and as a sign of victory in the Egyptian cults, Cumont, *Religions orientales*, pl. 6.

7. For Theodoros, see Dornseiff and Hansen, *Greek Proper-Names*. 284.



Figure 1. Inscribed Torso. Malibu.

broad flat fish-tails from which the bulk of the fish bodies has been broken; these are the only remnants of some marine creatures (dolphins?) that were once part of the pendant design.⁹ It is possible that the representations, whatever they represented, reflected in some manner the reason for the thank-offering. The three dimensional elements of the more or less flat piece are of interest: not only do the fish-tails project in a plane perpendicular to the inscribed face, but the craftsman has taken the trouble to decorate (with herringbone and branch patterns) surfaces which were apparently never meant to be seen.

3. *Tabella ansata*. (Fig. 3) Inv. no. 77.AC.36.

Maximum preserved height: 0.053; maximum preserved width: 0.117. Green-black patina. Thin bronze plaque, partially preserved; incomplete at the top and left sides. Two holes for attachment on the right and at the bottom, but no decoration.¹⁰ Three lines of an inscription on one face

8. The herringbone differs from the branch pattern only in its lack of a central spine; the meaning may well be the same (cf. *supra* n. 6).

9. No animal is known to have been consistently associated with Hypsistos; however, symmetrical pairs of fish emanating from a central motif are not uncommon, cf. e.g. C. Corm, *L'Art Phénicien* (n.d.) no. 245.

10. Such a *tabella ansata* would have been attached to a wall (?) in the cult precinct; cf. e.g. Kourouniotes and Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 196; and Merlat, *Répertoire*, no. 48.

11. Dornseiff and Hansen, *Greek Proper-Names* 262. The first letter at top left appears to be a *phi* or *psi*, which allows four possible reconstructions; based on the placement of words in relation to the right margins (if



Figure 2. *Tabella Ansata* with Pendant Decoration. Malibu.

preserve a thank-offering to Theos Hypsistos but not the complete name of the dedicant. Whether Hermophimos or perhaps Trophimos, the most likely reconstructions, the name is certainly masculine:¹¹ Ἑρμόφιμος Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχαριστῶ ἀνέστηκα "Hermophimos (?) gives thanks to Theos Hypsistos;" we do not know for what.

The title *Hypsistos* literally means *highest*, an appropriate epithet for a supreme divinity and a reflection of the tendency in the Hellenistic and Roman periods toward monotheism even among the pagan religions.¹² Although Theos Hypsistos may refer to the god of non-Hellenic peoples, such as Baal or Jehovah, it frequently refers to a healing aspect of Zeus similar to the god Asklepios. At the Roman shrine of Zeus Hypsistos in Athens, one of the largest and best-known of his sanctuaries, typical cult offerings were marble plaques bearing relief representations

the lines of the inscription were centered and related to one another on the left as they are on the preserved right side), there were probably three or possibly four more letters. Eliminating the shortest names Ὀψίμος and Ὑψίμος, Ἑρμοφίμος or Τροφίμος seems to fit best. The rest of the dedication follows closely the pattern of thanksgiving established for the cult and is easily reconstructed (cf. *infra* n. 15).

12. The Latin equivalent of Ὑψίστος, *exsuperantissimus*, more clearly implies the superlative nature of the word; cf. e.g. its use in a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus [Kan, *Dolichenus*, no. 211; Merlat, *Répertoire*, no. 251; idem, *Dolichenus* 114–115; and Cumont, *Religions orientales* 119], where it is used with *summus*, a combination which can best be translated



Figure 3. *Tabella Ansata*. Malibu.

of parts of the human anatomy and a brief formulaic dedication to the god [Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ(ι), Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ(ι), Ὑψίστῳ(ι)].¹³ There is no literary evidence about this cult, but to judge from the names inscribed and the members displayed (particularly breasts), most of Hypsistos' votaries were women who dedicated the plaques as thank-offerings for the god's cure of that part of the body represented in relief.¹⁴

If, as it appears, the Getty torso is such a gift from a grateful dedicant, Moschie, then the two inscribed plaques found with it are also votive offerings to Zeus the healer, dedications which were made, however, by male votaries for an unspecified reason. To be sure, only the one inscribed piece is an anatomical representation of the sort known to have been used in the cult of Zeus Hypsistos, but each of the three inscriptions clearly follows the pat-

tern of dedications recorded in his cult at Athens and elsewhere; whether a plaque with relief and inscription or only the latter, each dedication is a brief simple statement of gratitude in Greek.¹⁵ The fact that these votives are bronze, rather than the usual marble, is explained by their provenance from Anatolia, an area notably lacking in sources of marble and boasting a long tradition of metal craft.¹⁶

The fourth uninscribed bronze must be interpreted on the basis of its symbolic representations; these can be traced to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, a god of eastern origin whose worship found special favor among the Roman military.¹⁷ According to the donor, this figurine was not part of the group of inscribed votives, a fact which is supported by an analysis of the symbolism and by a difference in the bronze itself. But, like the other

highest above all (dated to the second half of the second century). Early writers, such as Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles, used the term to describe Zeus, apparently a reference to the supreme Olympian god as a mountain deity.

13. Kourouniotes and Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 197–200; Travlos, *Ancient Athens* 569–572.

14. For displays of breasts, Cook, *Zeus* II, fig. 816; Kourouniotes and Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) fig. 59; and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 154–156.

15. Kourouniotes and Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 199. On Cyprus, a cult of Zeus Hypsistos as a healing god is verified by similar votive in-

scriptions, reported by T. B. Mitford, *JHS* 66 (1946) 11–13, 34–36, some of which have painted anatomical representations rather than reliefs. See also *supra* n. 4.

16. For the metal industry of Asia Minor, see especially S. Przeworski, *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens in der Zeit von 1500–700 v. Chr.* (1939). The bronze-working industry naturally developed around convenient sources of raw materials; in the Roman period the island of Cyprus was the major source of copper, along with tin the main ingredient for producing bronze.

17. Jupiter Dolichenus, an orientalized Olympian, was derived from the local god Baal of Doliche (modern-day Tell Duruk) in the province of



Figure 4. Eagle and Stag's Head on a Pyramid. Malibu.

three, it is apparently a religious object produced by the Anatolian bronze industry, probably during the second or third century when the cult enjoyed its greatest popularity.¹⁸

4. Statuette of an eagle and stag's head on a stepped pyramid. (Fig. 4) Inv. no. 78.AC.36.

Maximum preserved height: 0.079; maximum preserved height of the base: 0.039; maximum preserved width of the base on a side: 0.032. Shiny green patina. A hollow bronze statuette preserving an eagle perched on the head of a stag; both figures are very small and show little detail. The



Figure 5. Eagle and Stag's Head. London. Photo: Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

wings of the eagle are closed and its feet are placed between the antlers with the claws near the eyes. The stag's head is schematically rendered with antlers projecting to the sides; its neck is squared-off where it is mounted on a stepped pyramidal base. The piece is well-preserved except for some damage to the lower steps of the pyramid; at its greatest height the pyramid preserves seven and one-half steps.

The two animals are the couple Dolichene.¹⁹ The eagle, Jupiter's frequent companion here symbolizing the god, dominates, but is united with the stag which represents the god's consort, Juno Dolichena; the two figures are in

Kommagene. For the attribution of the eagle and stag motif to his cult, see especially H. Seyrig, *Syria* 14 (1933) 372–380; S. Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940), pp. 62–72; Merlat, *Répertoire* 220–224; and idem, *Dolichenus* 42, 113. For the relationship of Jupiter Dolichenus to the Roman military, *ibid.*, pp. 101–103; and M. P. Speidel, *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (1978).

18. By the second century, the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus had been transplanted from the eastern Mediterranean to Rome and other areas of the Empire, especially along the garrisoned frontiers. His worship flourished during the third century under the Severans, no doubt due in great part to the support and interest of the Syrian-born princesses, Julia Domna and her sister, Julia Maesa. Most of the inscriptions attested for the

cult are dated between 130 and 265 (Hadrian to Gallienus); these are collected by Kan, *Dolichenus* 42–155; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 3–344. For the chronology of the cult, see also, Merlat, *Dolichenus* 9–24.

19. For the couple, Seyrig, *Syria* 14 (1933) 372–376; Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 63–67; and Merlat, *Dolichenus* 95–98.

20. Height: 0.087; reported by E. F. Schmidt, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons 1928–1929*, part 2 (1933) 106; see also Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 64–65; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 222, n. 0, no. 5. The base of this figural group is always described as a column with no special mention of the broadening at the bottom; it is only conjectured from the published drawings that the base of the column is stepped. For a similar statuette of an eagle alone on a columnar base, reportedly found by a resident in the



Figure 6. Eagle and Stag's Head. Munich. Drawing by M. Breen Bredemeyer after Liebmann, *Tierbronzen*, pl. 23, no. 168.



Figure 7. Eagle and Bull. Anatolia. Drawing by M. Breen Bredemeyer after S. Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) p. 64, fig. 2.

turn placed atop a symbolic pyramidal mountain. Although the individual elements can be interpreted with some certainty, their particular combination is to my knowledge unique.

The closest parallel to the Getty piece depicts in bronze a similar arrangement of eagle and stag's head placed on a column which rests on a stepped base. Now in the Ankara Museum, this statuette was found at Alishar Hüyük in a context dated by a coin of Alexander Severus (first quarter of the third century), supporting evidence of a Roman Imperial date for the motif.²⁰ Almost all examples

of the eagle and stag motif are, like the Getty piece, small bronzes without inscription, so that for a long time the motif's relationship to a cult of the Roman period went undetected.²¹ However, a unique figural group of eagle and stag's head in marble found at Dolichenus' sanctuary on the Esquiline and inscribed with a dedication, helped to identify the paired animals' association with Jupiter Dolichenus.²² In addition to the two bronze figurines in Malibu and Ankara and the marble sculpture in Rome, only three other examples of eagle and stag's head have been recorded (two from the eastern Mediterranean, Fig. 5

area of Caesarea, Cappadocia; see Cook, *Zeus* III, 1177, fig. 918.

21. As early as the beginning of the first millennium before Christ (and perhaps earlier), local workshops in Anatolia produced numerous bronze stag figurines used in the worship of an early fertility goddess. These stag figurines and those combined with an eagle are so similar in style that the two groups were until recently thought to be contemporary products of a distinctly pre-Roman period. For the problems of dating, see esp. Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 64–65. For the earlier stag figurines, which tend to be shown alone or with other quadrupeds, see e.g. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1976) pls. 1–6, 10, 11, and I–III. Certainly, one of the major points of confusion is the common geographical origin of the two groups of figurines.

22. Found in 1874, the marble figure is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; height, 0.56; see especially H. Stuart Jones, ed., *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (1968) 106, no. 50; also S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire Grecque et Romaine* V (1913) 515, no. 3; Cook *Zeus* I, 608; Seyrig, *Syria* 14 (1933) 372–373, no. 4; Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 67; Kan, *Dolichenus* 111, no. 184; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 219–224, no. 227. S. B. Downey, *The Stone and Plaster Sculpture. Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report 3, 1, 2. Monumenta Archaeologica*, 5 (1977) 138, no. 164, reports a stone-carved figure, which may also represent an eagle on the head of a stag. Although there was a major cult of Jupiter Dolichenus at the site, the identification of the sculpture remains uncertain because of the poor condition of the stag, of which the antlers alone survive.

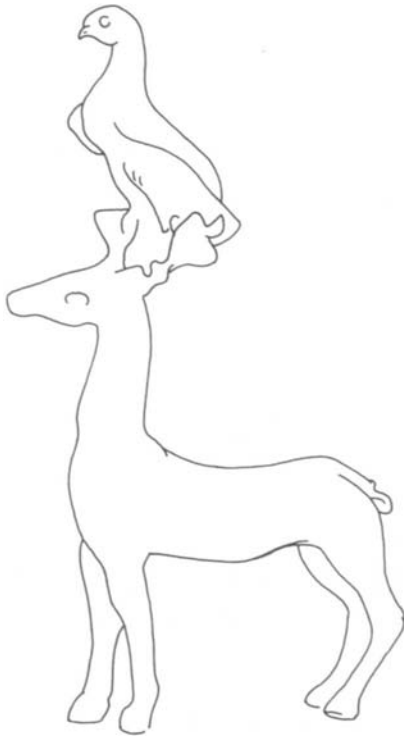


Figure 8. Eagle on the Head of a Full Stag. Paris, Louvre. Drawing by M. Breen Bredemeyer after Merlat, *Répertoire*, p. 221, fig. 43.

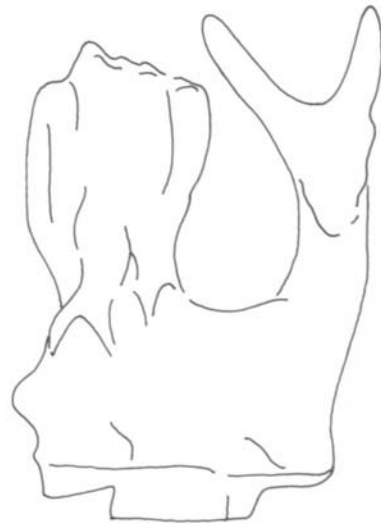


Figure 9. Eagle and Crouching Stag. From Cappadocia. Drawing by Patrick Dooley after S. Ronzevalle, *Mél. U.S.J.* 5 (1911), p. 226, fig. 15.

and Fig. 6; one of unknown provenance).²³ All are bronze and none preserves a base. Although they vary in exact detail, on the whole all are similar to one another and to the piece in the Getty Museum collection; none is noteworthy on account of its beauty.

A soldier god, Jupiter Dolichenus is customarily represented wearing Roman military costume and standing on the back of a bull, as he is in a statue from his sanctuary on the Aventine.²⁴ A small bronze figurine from Anatolia (Fig. 7) shows how the god is symbolically replaced with an eagle, which in this statuette stands on the bull's head

instead of its back.²⁵

The evolution of the eagle and stag's head motif developed in much the same manner, as can be seen in three related bronze figurines depicting not just the head, but the whole stag. Two of them (provenance unknown) show the stag in a standing position: the one in the Louvre (Fig. 8) has the eagle perched on the head, just as the Anatolian bull figurine noted above; the other in Berlin shows the eagle on the stag's back.²⁶ In the third, reportedly found at Caesarea in Cappadocia (Fig. 9), the eagle stands on the back, but the stag is in repose.²⁷

23. One from Greece, now in the British Museum, was found in 1875; height: 0.048; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum* (London 1899) 286, no. 1875. One reported to be from Asia Minor and now in the Liebmann collection, Munich, is dated to the Roman Imperial era; height: 0.06; H. Liebmann, *Tierbronzen aus dem vorchristliche Mittelmeerraum* (1971) no. 168. The third, of unknown provenance, now in Berlin, no. 30 728; height: 0.058, mounted on a modern base; K. A. Neugebauer, *AA* 37 (1922) cols. 118–119, no. 66; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 58 n. 1; 222 n. 0, no. 4.

24. For representations of Jupiter Dolichenus on the back of a bull, Kan, *Dolichenus*, *passim*; and Merlat, *Répertoire*, *passim*. For the shrine and cult objects (now in the Capitoline Museum) of the sanctuary on the Aventine, Kan, *Dolichenus* 93–109; Merlat, *Répertoire* 155–212; and E.

Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* rev. ed. (1968) I, 521–524.

25. Exact provenance unknown; height: 0.05; Reinach, *Répertoire II* (1909) 737, no. 1; and Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 63, fig. 2.

26. One, now in the Louvre, Paris, no. AM 410; height: 0.015; Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 63 n. 1; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 222 n. 0, no. 3. A second figure, now in Berlin, no. VA 3521; height: 0.08; O. Weber, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1922) 19, no. 43, pl. 42; Przeworski, *Syria* 21 (1940) 67, fig. 4; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 221 n. 3, no. 2, fig. 44.

27. S. Ronzevalle, *Mél USJ* 5 (1911) 226, figs. 15–16; and Merlat, *Répertoire* 222 n. 0, no. 3.

28. The female figure is usually veiled and carries in her hands a sceptre or some other attribute, such as a mirror. She almost always stands

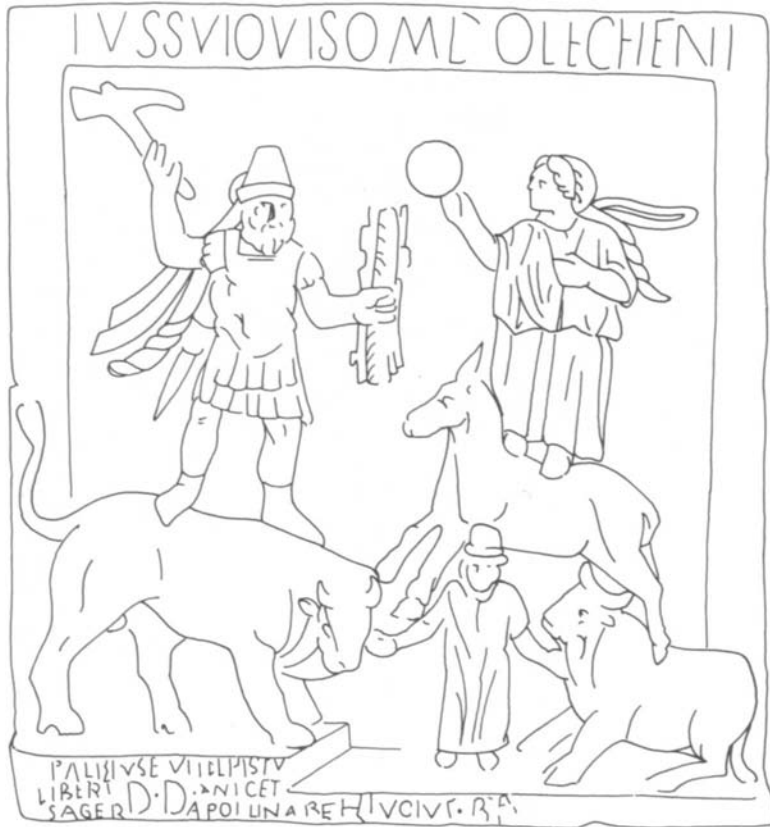


Figure 10. Votive Relief of the Couple Dolichene. From the Aventine, Rome. Now in the Capitoline Museum. Drawing by M. Breen Bredemeyer after Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary* I, p. 524, fig. 645.

A number of reliefs from Dolichenus' sanctuaries, such as one from the Dolocenum on the Aventine (Fig. 10), depict the god in his usual military guise standing on the back of a bull but with a companion female figure standing on a deer.²⁸ Dedicatory inscriptions call her Juno Dolichena, Juno Sancta, Juno Assyria, or Juno Regina, essentially an orientalized Olympian goddess who exists solely in relation to this god.²⁹ In the eagle and stag figures, the bull is omitted in order to expand the symbolic meaning of the figurine by including the feminine counterpart of the eagle-Jupiter, Juno in the form of a stag.

on the back of a quadruped, a stag or doe, a goat, or bovine creature, but often the animal is too vaguely represented or ill-preserved to determine its exact species. This female exists almost exclusively as the companion of Jupiter Dolichenus; she is, however, shown alone in a large statue carved in the round from Chesters (ancient Cilurnum); Merlat, *Répertoire* no. 276. The most common representations of Juno standing on the back of an animal are carved stone reliefs; see e.g. Kan, *Dolichenus* nos. 112, 202, 203, 238, and from the Aventine nos. 174, 175, 180; and Merlat, *Répertoire* nos. 77, 143, 242, 244, 277, 377, and from the Aventine, nos. 185, 190, 206. For Juno shown on triangular plaques and other metal votive tablets, Kan, *Dolichenus* nos. 41, 60, 115, 119, 120, 276, 277; and Merlat, *Répertoire* nos. 23, 50, 65, 66, 147, 148, 152, 153, 168, 316, 322, 346. An unusual bronze statuette, found at Maur-an-der-Url in the

The eagle and stag's head motif is then simply an abbreviated version of these more elaborate animal figures, all of which represent the couple Dolichene.

This symbolism is reinforced by the pyramid support, which is more than a sturdy decorative base. Whether it is interpreted as a reference to the "high place" of Zeus/Jupiter's worship or the "ziggurat" of Dolichenus' eastern ancestors, the mountain-like form is an expression of the realm of the god and his goddess-queen, a three-dimensional version of the triangular plaques traditionally used as offerings in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus.³⁰

ancient province of Noricum, also shows the couple; Kan, *Dolichenus* no. 117; and Merlat, *Dolichenus* pl. 3a. For the Aventine sanctuary, cf. n. 24.

29. For the worship of Juno Dolichena, see especially Seyrig, *Syria* 14 (1933) 368–380, bibliography p. 368 n. 1; Kan, *Dolichenus* 24; and Merlat, *Dolichenus* (1960) 35–36. For the inscriptions which identify this goddess, Kan, *Dolichenus* nos. 108, 127, 155, 173, 189, 262, 294; and Merlat, *Répertoire* nos. 24, 132, 160, 184, 202, 220, 231, 232, 302, 338, 355, 360.

30. One of the most characteristic offerings of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is a triangular plaque, usually made of bronze but sometimes silvered or gilded. These triangles are decorated in relief with figures associated with the cult in an arrangement of four or five horizontal registers,

Jupiter Dolichenus and Theos Hypsistos share a common Olympian heritage, drastically modified over the centuries by the demands of a fast-changing world. By the end of the second century, Roman Imperial rule had altered the social, political, and military structure to the extent that it affected the individual, his view of himself, and especially his sense of security . . . or rather lack of it. The result was a major spiritual upheaval, a reevaluation of man's place in the existing world, and an increasingly greater emphasis on the world of the hereafter. The votive of the couple Dolichene and the dedications to Theos

Hypsistos are part of the religious paraphernalia that rose out of the increasing popularity of the smaller, more personal, cults of the eastern Empire. Although they represent the worship of different gods, as a group the four bronze votives from Asia Minor demonstrate the mix of theologies and blend of cultures prevalent in the Roman Empire. At the same time they are a reflection of the general movement toward a religion focused on a single supreme deity, a trend which ultimately resulted in the triumph of Christianity as the Roman state religion.

Jeanne Peppers
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

frequently including the eagle and the couple Dolichene; for the triangles, Merlat, *Dolichenus* 168–177. For high places used as locations of religious significance represented by a pyramid, Farnell, *Cults* I, 37 n. 1, 603–604; and Merlat, *Dolichenus* 77–80, 93–94. For the mountain cults of Zeus, Cook, *Zeus* I, 117–163; *ibid.* II, 868–987; and Farnell, *Cults* I, 50–51. A small bronze votive representing an eagle alone on a jagged mountain (perhaps Mt. Argaios) was found near Caesarea in Capadocia; Cook, *Zeus* III, 1177, fig. 917; see also *ibid.*, 1097, no. i.602; cf. *supra* n. 20.

Note: Georges Daux (October–November 1980 Visiting Scholar at the Getty Museum) reads the inscriptions as follows:

1. Μοσχέιν εὐχην (v in the name written above)
Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ (sic)
(Μοσχέιν = Μοσχίν = Μοσχίον)
2. Θεόδω
ρος Θεῷ Ὑ
ψίστῳ εὐ
χαρισ
τήριον
3. Τρόφιμος Θεῷ Ὑψί
στῳ εὐχαρίστῳ
ν ἀνέθηκα

(ed.)

Two Amulets in the Getty Museum:

A Gold Amulet for Aurelia's Epilepsy

An Inscribed Magical-Stone for Fever, "Chills," and Headache

A GOLD AMULET FOR AURELIA'S EPILEPSY

The J. Paul Getty Museum has recently acquired a tiny phylactery made of a very thin piece of gold-foil.¹ Inscribed carefully with a sharp instrument, the *lamella* contains about thirty lines of Greek text, *voces magicae*, and magical "characters." The tablet had been tightly rolled up and inserted into a tubular case to be worn around the neck.² Apparently the case is now lost. Though the scribe had engraved the tablet carefully in a cursive hand, the crumpled texture of the foil and the almost microscopic size of the letters make decipherment difficult. Palaeographically, the phylactery dates to the third century A.D.;³ the occurrence of the name Aurelia, moreover, confirms the date, as "Aurelian" names became very popular after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212.

The *lamella* seems remarkably well-preserved and contains no *lacunae*. Despite a few scribal errors and the use of magical formulae, the text reads clearly once deciphered. The distinctly Jewish (and possibly Christian) character of the piece, its use of different terms for epilepsy, and the occurrence of the "Gnostic" light-Aeon, Eleleth (line 30), stand out as striking features of this tablet. We provide below a transcription, translation, and brief commentary of the text.

Ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, ὁ Θεὸς
Εἰσάκ, ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ Θε-
ὸς ἡμῶν· ῥύσαι τὴν
Αὐρηλίαν ἐκ παν-
5 τὸς πνεύματος πονηροῦ
καὶ ἐκ πάσης ἐπιλημψί-
ας καὶ πτωματισμοῦ,
δέομαί σου, κύριε Ἰάω

Σαβαώθ, Ἐλωαῖον, Οὐ(ν)-
10 ριήλ, Μειχαήλ, Ῥαφαήλ, Γα-
βριήλ, Σαραήλ, Ῥασοχήλ
Ἀβλαναθανάλβα, Ἀβρασάξ
ξξξξξ ννννν
ωσα ιιιιιιι ξ ο υυυυ
15 υυ αο οοοοοοο ωγω
H P Σεσενγεν-
: βαρφαρηνγης, διαφύ-
: λασσε, ιψω ιώ Ἐρβηθ
("characters")
20 ("characters")
("characters")
διαφύλασσε τὴν
Αὐρηλίαν ἀπὸ παντὸς πτω-
'ματισμοῦ'
25 ἐκ παντὸς πτωματισ-
μοῦ, Ἰάω, Ἰεοῦ Ἰηω
λαμμω Ἰάω χαρακῶ
που Σεσενγενβαρφαρην-
γης, Ἰάω αεεγγαῖ Ἰηου Ἰάω,
30 Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναίε, Ἠληληθ,
Ἰάκω.

The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, our God, deliver Aurelia from every evil spirit and from every epileptic fit and seizure, I implore you, Lord Iaō, Sabaōth, Elōaion, Ouriēl, Michaēl, Raphaēl, Gabriēl, Saraēl, Rasochēl, Ablanathanalba, Abrasax, xxx-
xxxx nnnnnn a ὅα ιιιιιιιιι x ο γγγγγγγ α αο οοοοοοο
ᾠδ—[P] (symbols) Sesengenbarpharangēs, protect, ip-
p̄hō, iō Erbēth—"characters"—protect Aurelia from
every seizure, from every seizure, Iaō, Ieou, Iēō lammō
Iaō charakōpou Sesengenbarpharangēs, Iaō aēeygai
Iēou Iaō, Sabaōth, Addōnaie, Elēlēth, Iakō. / Protect . . .

1. Acc. no. 80.AI.53. The *lamella* measures approximately 4.2 x 2.0 cm. I thank Dr. Jiří Frel of the Getty Museum for allowing me to study and publish the tablet, which was presented by W. Causey.

2. For examples of these amuletic cases, see G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im Römischen Deutschland* (Leiden 1969) 129, no. 13; 216, no. 131; L. Nardoni, *BullInstCorrArch*, 1880, 115;

A. Jodin, *BullArchMaroc* 6 (1966) pl. IX. Such amuletic cases are uniform in design.

3. For palaeographical matters consult, E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912) 184–197 and accompanying charts.

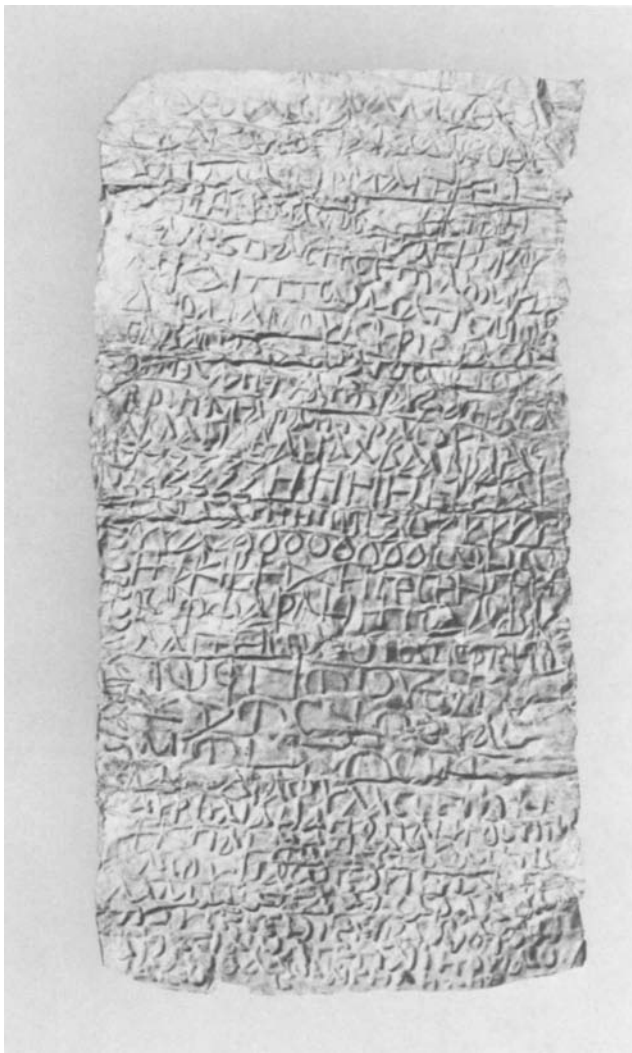


Figure 1. Gold amulet for epilepsy. Third century A.D. Malibu.

COMMENTS:

1–3. ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ . . . ἡμῶν: this formula is popular in Christian and Jewish magical texts; the formula stems from the Greek Old Testament (LXX) and is found in several places in the New Testament. In Acts 3:13 in particular, we find a striking parallel. For this formula in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*,⁴ see PGM XII 287; XIII 817; 976; XXXV 14; PGM 21. 31 (Christian); cf. M. Rist, “The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. A Liturgical Formula,” *JourBibLit* 57 (1938) 289–303. See also, A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris 1964) no. 26.

2. Εἰσαάκ: a variant of the usual spelling Ἰσαάκ. Writing εἰ for ἰ is common; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (2nd Aufl.; Berlin 1970) I,

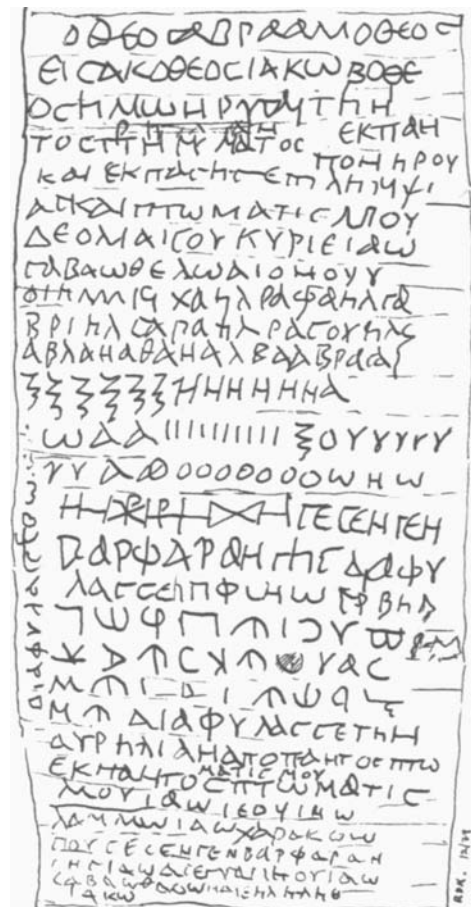


Figure 2. Drawing of the gold amulet for epilepsy.

i, 66–70.

3. ῥύσαι: the verb ῥύομαι occurs several times in the PGM and often in a distinctively Christian spell in which the use of the verb from the Lord's prayer (Matt. 6:13) is common; see PGM O 4.13 (an ostrakon); PGM 9.23. In PGM IV 1167; 3035 the verb also occurs, but not in the form of prayer-requests.

4. Αὐρηλίαν ἐκ παντὸς: something peculiar has occurred in the writing of the personal name here. The entire name has been squeezed between the third and the fifth lines as if the scribe had omitted it and then returned to write it in; however, following a considerable space, the expected ἐκ παντὸς occurs in proper sequence, though the positioning of the lines 4 and 5 looks irregular. It is probable that the personal name simply looks crumpled, as it

4. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (Stuttgart 1973–1974; 2nd edit.)

may be hidden by a crease in the *lamella*. Note a similar corrected omission in lines 23–24.

4–5. ἐκ παντὸς πνεύματος πονηροῦ: the *epsilon* and *upsilon* of πνεύματος are difficult to make out, as the letters are in ligature. The expression πνεῦμα πονηρόν is not common in the PGM (but cf. the Christian spell, PGM 13a. 3); however, the expression, both in the singular and in the plural, occurs often in the gospel of Luke and in Acts (Lk. 7.21; 8.2; 11.26; Acts 19.12f.; 15f.). The account in the book of Acts tells of Jewish exorcists who employ the name of Jesus to drive away “evil spirits.”

6–7. ἐκ πάσης ἐπιλημψίας καὶ πτωματισμοῦ: this spell differentiates between two types of epileptic fits; cf. Proclus, *Paraphr. Ptol. Tetra.* 153; *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 2.179, and the lit. and discussion in E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, “Epilepsie,” *RAC* 5 (1965) cols. 819–831. Neither of these two terms occurs in the PGM, though each is found separately in two different *laminae*. The word πτωματισμός is mentioned in a list of other maladies on a gold tablet in the Louvre: W. Froehner, “Sur une amulette basilidienne inédite de Musée Napoléon III,” *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 7, I pp. 1–17 (reprinted separately in a fascicle, Caen, 1867). The word ἐπιλημψία occurs in an unpublished silver phylactery from Egypt in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore). For μψ instead of ψ, consult the discussion in Mayser, *Grammatik* I, i, 166–167.

8. δέομαί σου: this form of petition occurs regularly in the PGM (cf. PGM III 586; IV 1948; V 420, with κύριε; PGM I 200 with δέομαί σου). For a similar petition-formula, cf. also Delatte & Derchain, no. 461.

8–9. κύριε Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἐλωαῖον: all three of these names are frequently attested in magical literature. Iaō and Sabaōth are typically found together as well. For the address κύριε Ἰάω, see PGM IV 1222; V 472. Ἐλωαῖον (or Ἐλωαῖος, so PGM I 311; see the discussion s.v. Ἐλωαῖός—the Gnostic aeon—in J. Michl, art. “Engel: Katalog der Engelnamen,” *RAC* 5 [1965] 212, n. 73) is a variant of Ἐλωαι.

9–11. Οὐ<υ>ριήλ . . . Ῥασοχήλ: lists of angel-names are a regular feature of magical invocations. For each of the names here, consult J. Michl, art. cit. The name “Rasochēl,” however, seems new. Orthographically, “Ouriēl” appears to contain an extra *upsilon*, and the *rho* beginning in line 10 is difficult to make out.

12. Ἀβλαναθανάλβα, Ἀβρασάξ: both of these magical names occur very often in magical literature and require little comment. The god “Abraxas” is a principal deity in Gnosticism; see index s.v. “Abraxas,” in J. M. Robinson, ed. *The Nag Hammadi Library* (Leiden & San Francisco 1977) p. 478. See also the studies, A. A. Barb, “Abraxas-

Studien,” *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* (Bruxelles 1957) 76–80; A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig 1891); K. Preisendanz, *Der Kleine Pauly* I 17f.

13–15. This section contains the typical series of vowels found in the magical papyri and on gem-stones. The repetition of the seven vowels, α ε ι ο υ ω, is a regular feature in magical texts. Thus it is likely that the xi’s and nu’s in line 13 serve as cryptic forms of *epsilon* and *eta*, respectively; one may note that each of the seven vowels is represented in the series, with the flagrant exception of *epsilon*’s and *eta*’s.

16. Ⲡ ⲡ: these two symbols look very Christian and may betray early Christian influence. Morton Smith has suggested to me that these symbols may go with ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν (1.2–3) and the predominance of the Old Testament God and angels throughout the text. It seems likely, we may add, that these symbols are set apart from the “characters” of line 19–22 to show they belong to the host of names invoked. Thus we are to read Χρ(ιστός), Χρ(ιστός) along with the other deities and angels in the preceding lines. If the text is Christian (or invokes the name of Christ in a syncretistic way), it does not show the unmistakable Christian elements of the later magical texts in PGM vol. II, 209–232. Nevertheless, the tablet is certainly Jewish, as the introductory formula shows, and probably early Christian.

16–17. Σεσενγενβαρφαρρανης (also 1. 28): this is another very common magical name, perhaps to be associated with solar worship (so Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, Ann Arbor, 1950, 201–202). If the name is a transliteration of Semitic, no adequate explanation for it has been put forward.

17–18. διαφύλασσε (also 1. 22 and on the left margin): the verb is one of several used in the PGM to express protection against disease and harm (cf. PGM IV 921; 1079; 2516; VII 589, and so on). In the middle of this line it is difficult to make out several letters in the series ιπφω.

18. ἰὼ Ἐρβηθ: the words make up part of a standard Seth/Typhon acclamation; cf. PGM I 253; III 71; 115; IV 2213; 2225; 3261–63; 67; VII 942; and so on. The name usually occurs with “Pakerbeth.” On Erbeth, see also Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, II (Leipzig 1923) para. 143.

19–22. Here begin the magical “characters” found so often in magical literature. Their decipherment and significance remain uncertain. See Th. Hopfner, “χαρακτήρες,” *Suppl.* IV, 1183–88.

26. Ἰεοῦ: (and permutations, lines 26 and 29): this name is often attached to Iaō in the PGM (cf., for example, PGM XIII 929; XII 111).

27. λαμμω: this *vox magica* is apparently unattested in the PGM; however, λαμω λελαμ does occur on a gemstone (Delatte & Derchain, no. 44).

27. χαρακωπου: forms similar to this occur in PGM; in PGM IV 1736, 1803 we have χαρακω; in PGM IV 241f., 1381 χαραχπτου is found.

29. αεεϋϋαι: although some of these letters are difficult to make out, I suspect a series of vowels.

30. Ἡληληθ: this deity is the name of the fourth prin-

cipal light-Aeon in Gnostic literature (see index, "Eleleth," in Robinson, *op. cit.*). Although the name does not occur in the Greek magical papyri, it does occur in the Coptic magical texts; cf. index, s.v. "Eleleth," A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*, I–III (Bruxelles 1930–1931). See also Michl, *art. cit.*, no. 72, p. 211 (additional literature).

31. Ἰάκω: see PGM LVII 19f., 21 for this variation of the name Ἰακώβ.

AN INSCRIBED MAGICAL-STONE FOR FEVER, "CHILLS," AND HEADACHE

In 1973, Norma Coppley presented the J. Paul Getty Museum with an unusual stone amulet.¹ The stone is a lens-shaped agate of grayish color, measuring approximately 40.2 mm. high by 35.1 mm. wide. It is neatly engraved on either side with Greek majuscules and contains a spell of the type commonly found in the Greek magical papyri.² The amulet is the first extant example of a fever-amulet engraved on stone.³ The obverse⁴ contains a variation on a common magical incantation, the name *Ablanathanalba*, while the reverse has preserved a portion of the protective prayer for its bearer: "Deliver Gaia from fever." The text on both sides reads as follows:

- I. ΑΒΛΑΚΑΘΑ|ΝΑΛΒΑ ΑΒΛΑΘ|Α|ΔΑΝΑΛΒΑ
ΑΒΛ|ΑΝΑΘΑ|ΝΑΛΒΑ ΒΛΑΝΑΘΑ|ΝΑΛΒ|
Α|ΔΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ Α|ΝΑΘ|Α|ΝΑΛΒΑ|ΝΑΘΑΛΒΑ|
ΑΘΑΛΒΑ|ΘΑΛΒΑ|ΑΛΒΑ|ΛΒΑ|ΒΑ|Α
- II. ΑΠΑΛΛΑΞΟΝ|ΓΑΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΥΡΕ|ΤΟΥ [---]
ΤΟΤΕ|ΡΕΙ [-----]ΠΑ|ΣΗΣ[-----]|ΔΟΥ
[-----]|ΚΕΦ[----(?)].

The obverse is composed of a well-known palindrome—a magical name or formula that reads the same forward as backwards—however, one can note a few variations in the spelling of the magical name. The lower register contains an abbreviation of the same magical name, *Ablanathanalba*, but written in a 'winged'-formation known as a *pterygōma*. An insignificant chip in the upper, right-hand portion of the stone does not hinder a restoration of the

entire text since the consistent pattern of the repetition of the word *Ablanathanalba* allows for an easy reconstruction: the spell, although appearing to contain blunders by the engraver in reading Αβλακαθαναλβα (line 1–2) and Αβλαθαδαναλβα (line 2–3) for Αβλαναθαναλβα, is made up of a neat, magical "litany" patterned after the principle of repeating the formulaic word; however, with each repetition the initial letter is omitted until all that remains is the single *alpha* at the tip of the 'winged'-formation. One can see that the engraver intended the entire *Ablanathanalba*-formula to be written out in the triangular formation, but for want of space he spelled out only the final, abbreviated ending Ναθαλβα (sic for Ναθαναλβα) in this form. Thus, if the spell were written more properly in its entire winged-shape we would have:⁵

- A. Αβλακαθα|ναλβα
Αβλαθα|δαναλβα.
- B. Αβλαναθα|ναλβα
βλαναθαναλβα|
λαναθαναλβα
αναθα|ναλβα
- C. ναθαλβα
αθαλβα
θαλβα
αλβα
λβα
βα
α

1. Acc. no. 73.A1.1. I wish to thank Dr. Jiří Frel for kindly making the amulet available to me and for providing valuable photographs of the stone; I also thank Prof. Morton Smith of Columbia University for his helpful suggestions and criticisms.

2. For the Greek magical papyri see K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (Stuttgart, 1973²); hereafter, PGM.

3. For a possible exception, see the reference later on regarding the stone amulet in Hildesheim. The two principal works on magical, stone-amulets are C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1950) (hereafter SMA) and A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Biblio-

thèque Nationale, 1964). In addition to these, many articles have been written.

4. In the magical papyri the magical incantation always precedes the prayer for protection, thus the side with the *Ablanathanalba*-formula represents the obverse.

5. I give credit to Dr. Frel for suggesting this schema to me. The section labelled 'A' contains two purposive variations on the name; next the actual process of beginning the ladder-like repetition of the magical word begins (B), being carried out only to *Anathanalba*; section C shows the rest of the 'winged'-formation as it was intended to be carried out.



Figure 3. Agate amulet for fever. Prob. third century A.D. Malibu.



Figure 4. Drawing of the agate amulet for fever.

With this understanding of the arrangement of the text, it is not necessary to comment in detail on the restoration. In support of this proposed schema, note that the stone shows traces of the final *alpha* in lines 3 and 4, and the complete *alpha* at the end of line 5.

The reverse of the amulet is not so well preserved because of the unfortunate chip in the middle of the stone; however, since the principal line of the spell—a prophylactic charm against the fever—is complete, it may be possible to suggest a reconstruction on the basis of comparisons with related spells in the Greek magical papyri. A facsimile of the Getty stone with the proposed restoration is here provided:

Ἀπάλλαξον|Γαῖν τοῦ πυρε|τοῦ [καὶ] το<ῦ> τε|
 ρεί|γους κε| π[ά]σης [τῆς ὅ]|δοῦ [νῆς τῆς]|κεφ[αλῆς].

“Deliver Gaia from the fever and also the ‘chills,’ and from all her headache.”

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTS

1. Ἀπάλλαξον. The verb in the Greek magical papyri usually takes ἀπό + the genitive, although it is not necessary (cf. the *P. Gáal* mentioned below). The verb is rare on stone-amulets, the only other apparent instance being the amulet for Priscus’ liver-ailment in Delatte & Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, n. 461: ἀπάλλαξον Πρίσκον ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου ἥπατος.

2. Γαῖν. The name is not common, but similar forms such as Παῖς, Ψαῖς, Πτάις, and Κάις are attested. See F. Dornseiff & B. Hansen, *Reverse-Lexicon of Greek Proper Names* (Chicago: Ares, 1978, repr. of German edition of 1957), p. 180. The name may be the Latin equivalent of Gaia, or the masculine Γαῖς; the former is more likely since it is attested in Latin.

3. τοῦ πυρε|τοῦ [καὶ] τότε (?). After “fever” there is space for 3–4 letters in the lacuna; καὶ is the logical choice on the strength that πυρετός is almost always coupled to ρίγος by καὶ (see the comments to follow). The word τότε poses a problem: although the reading τοῦ πυρετοῦ [καὶ] τότε (i.e., “Deliver Gaia from the fever and now and then from chills”) is not impossible, it is awkward and unprecedented. For the same reason, other temporal adverbs such as ἐκάς|τοτε . . . or even [αὐτῆς] ὅτε . . . (the pointed *tau* may be a *sigma*) are unlikely since they would hopelessly disrupt the almost sure parallelism of πυρετός καὶ ρίγος. On the evidence of the papyri cited below in the discus-

sion, we suggest τοῦ πυρετοῦ [καὶ] το<ῦ> τε ρεί|γους as a likely reading. Cf. D. Wortmann, *BonnJbb* 168 (1968) 104, Nr. 6 (Fieberamulett): φύλαξον τὸν φοροῦ(ν)τά σε ἀπὸ το<ῦ> πυρετοῦ . . . (For construction such as καὶ + τε see Smyth, *Greek Grammar* 2983; cf. LSJ s.v. τε, A. II. 3b.). The spell thus contains a simple list of ailments (“fever and chills, and headache”) in accordance with the examples of gem-stones and magical papyri. Furthermore, the presence of the article with *pyretos* is an argument in favor of the article before *rhigos* as well. An alternative suggestion for the lacuna might be [αἰ] or [ῆδη], or a similar expression.

4. ρεί|γους κε]. The reading of ρίγος here is almost certain on the basis of the juxtaposing of πυρετός with ρίγος (see *infra*). The lacuna calls for approximately 6 letters, and κε (= καὶ) follows in the natural pattern of listing the illnesses in sequence.

4–5. π[ά]σης [τῆς . . .]. The *pi* is virtually sure, showing the upper cross-bar extending well over the vertical, right down-stroke of the letter (hence, it is less likely an *omicron*). The second *sigma* in line 5 is also quite probable as a magnified view shows a vestige of the lower, horizontal stroke. The feminine, genitive τῆς anticipates the stereotypical expression “Deliver (so-and-so) from every (illness).” The suggested τῆς (the lacuna permits up to six letters, but here are probably fewer since there is no remnant of a final letter below the A in πα-, above) conforms to the presence of the article before “fever” and, as suggested, before “chills,” mentioned above. For a similar construction cf. PGM XIII, 633: διαφύλαξόν με ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ἰδίας μου ἀστρικῆς. Constructions with πᾶς + anarthrous nouns are more commonplace in magical texts.

5–6. ὀ|δοῦ[νῆς] κεφ[αλῆς]. The left angle of the pointed letter in κεφ[. . .] suggests either a Δ or a Φ. The possibility of κεφ[αλῆς] qualified by the appropriate term ὀδὴν is strengthened on the basis of several spells for headache in the magical papyri (cf. PGM XX mentioned below). Variant spellings for ὀδὴν (and other medical terms) are not uncommon in the papyri, as we see in the rendering ὠδὴν in PGM XVI, 22. For the possibility of ου for υ, consult the remarks in Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1975 repr. of 1940 edition) p. 45, where we find the typical use of ου for υ (. . .) in ἀργουρίω for ἀργυρίω in the Boeotian inscription, IG 7.3172, 117; cf. the Delphian hymns, p. 46, n. 40 and the

6. SMA p. 67f., p. 271, n. 111; pl. 5.

7. The papyrus has ριτος, υπερειτους μ.

8. R. W. Daniel, “Some ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ,” *ZPE* 25 (1977) 153f. Originally published in Hungarian by Z. Ritóok in *Antik Tanulmányok* 22 (1975) 30–43.

9. But for headache spells in Egyptian magic see the comments concerning the Budapest magical papyrus in J. F. Borghouts, “Magical Texts,” *Texts et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (Cairo, 1974) 13.

reference to Hesychius' οὐδραίνει for ὑδραίνει on p. 42; cf. also §38, p. 44.

Oddly, with the exception of this stone, no amulet of stone with an explicit reference to πυρετός has ever turned up, making the Getty amulet the first of its kind. A possible, but improbable, exception is the green steatite or jasper in the Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, mentioned by Campbell Bonner.⁶ The text of that stone reads ὀλεθρον καὶ πύρηθρον φύγε ἀπὸ τοῦ φοροῦντος τὸ φυλακτήριον τοῦτο; however, by his own admission, Bonner says that the *hapax* πύρηθρον (possibly πύρεθρον = "pellitory," *Anacyclus Pyrethrum* according to LSJ) has little lexical support for the meaning "fever."

On the other hand, it is significant that spells for "fever and chills" nearly identical to that of the Getty stone are found in the corpus of the Greek magical papyri. Some of the more notable instances are as follows: PGM XLIII (ca. 5th cent. A.D.) contains the *Ablanathanalba*-formula written out with the complete *pterygōma*, a series of angelic names, and the prayer διαφύλαξον Σοφία[ν,] ἣν ἔτεκεν Θεοει[λλα, ἀπὸ παντός ῥίγους καὶ πυρετοῦ, ἥδη, ταχύ⁷; similarly, PGM 5b, 30–38 reads, ἀπὸ δῖωξον καὶ φυγάδευσον ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάντα || πυρετόν καὶ παντοῖον ῥίγος, ἀμφημερινόν, τριτέον, τεταρτέον, καὶ πᾶν κακόν. In PGM VII, 211–21 we find several short prescriptions for various types of fever, namely πρὸς ῥιγοπυρέτιον (211f.), πρὸς καθημε[ρ]ινόν, νυκτερινόν (213f.), and a φυλακτήριον πρὸς ῥιγοπυρέτιον καθημερινόν (218–21); PGM XVIIIb contains a *pterygōma* of the word Γοργωφῶνας, followed by the spell to "heal" (θεραπεῦσαι) Dionysus or Anus ἀπὸ πα[ν]τός ῥίγους καὶ πυρετοῦ; and PGM XXXIII (the Tebtunis papyrus, 3rd cent.) also contains a 'winged'-formation, using a form of the name *Ablanathanalba*, and reads παῦ[σο]ν || Ταίδα ἀπὸ παντός ῥίγους . . . (a list of various types of fever then follows).

Very recently, a new magical papyrus of the fourth century A.D. (*P. Mag. Gáal*)⁸ has come to light that offers a very close parallel to the Getty stone amulet. The first five lines of the extant text contain an invocation, then we read: ἀπάλ<λ>αξον Ἄμμων τοῦ ἑλχον(τος) αὐτὸν πυρετόν καὶ ῥίγους, ἥδη ἥδη, ταχύ ταχύ, ἐν τῇ σήμερον. As with the Getty amulet, ἀπὸ with the genitive is not used; moreover, we see the form πυρετόν for πυρετοῦ (by attraction to αὐτόν).

We can see, then, from these examples from the magical

papyri, that the protective charm against "fever and chills" was standard, and that the example of the Getty amulet, though engraved on stone, follows the pattern of the papyrus amulets. The uniqueness of the Getty stone rests in the peculiar choice of material used for a fever-spell.

As it is proposed, the Getty amulet also contains a prescription against headache. Although spells for headache are scarce, at least two notable examples have come down to us in the Greek magical papyri. No such spells for headache on magical stone-amulets have hitherto been published.⁹ PGM XVIIIa briefly describes a charm for headache using the term νόσος τῆς κεφαλῆς. Of greater interest to us is the so-called Philinna papyrus (PGM XX) of the first century B.C.¹⁰ The title of this short and unusual spell is ἐπασιδὴ π[ρὸς] κεφαλῆς π[ό]νον. In addition to the term πόνος κεφαλῆς for headache, in the text itself we also read φεύγ' ὀδύν[η] κ[ε]φαλῆς—the same expression suggested for the Getty amulet. More frequently we find spells for "migraine"-headache (πρὸς ἡμικράνιον) in the magical papyri, and in one remarkable instance, on a silver *lamella*.¹¹

The closest parallel to the Getty amulet of an engraved stone-amulet is the peculiar medical amulet found in Russia in 1950 and now housed in the Historical Museum at Anapa (Gorgippia).¹² Its shape and material (described as an "*amulette-globule, agate*") are reminiscent of the Getty stone. In addition to magical words, including a *pterygōma* of the name *Damnameneus*, there appears a spell for protection against a list of head-ailments (περὶ τοῦ κορυφῆς ἐν κεφαλ[ῇ] μου)¹³, including diseases of the ears, eardrums, uvula, neck, forehead, nose, mouth, and teeth; however, no fever is mentioned.

In conclusion, then, we underscore the rarity of the Getty amulet as an unusual fever and headache amulet engraved on stone. Although medical amulets are not uncommon on magical intaglios, the absence of protections against fever on stone amulets is remarkable. That fever spells are common on papyrus may be due to the simple fact that fever is more indigenous to those regions (like Egypt) where papyrus is readily available for manufacturing *phylaktēria*.

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10. See P. Maas, *JHS* 62 (1942) 33–38; C. Bonner, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 349–51.

11. On papyrus, cf. PGM VII, 199; LXV, 4; for the silver-leaf see A. Barb., "Griechische Zaubertexte vom Gräberfelde westlich des Lagers," *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926) 58; Taf. I, 1.

12. Most recently published by O. Ya. Névérón, "Gemmes, bagues et amulettes magiques du sud de l'URSS," in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren*, II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) n. 50; p. 848; Pl. clxxvi.

13. The restoration is my own; the editors read περὶ τοῦ κορυφῆσεν κεφαλ[αίον]; τοῦ for τῆς is not unusual.

ADDENDUM:

Several important papyri that came to my attention too late to be included in the body of the article contain spells for fever and “chills:” P. W. A. Th. van der Laan, “Amulette chrétienne contre la fièvre,” in E. Boswinkel & P. W. Pestman, eds. *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues: Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava XIX* (Leiden, 1978) 96–102 (Pl. XIV); P. Leid. 514 (6th cent. A.D.): σφζει . . . κρυ(?)|δν ξεκεν Γεννάια|ἀπὸ παντὸς πυρετοῦ|καὶ παντὸς ρίγους|ἀμφημερινοῦ|καθημερινοῦ|ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ. Wm. Brahear, “Vier Berliner Zaubertexte; 2: Ein Amulett gegen Fieber,”

ZPE 17 (1975) 27–30; P. Berol. 21165 (3rd–4th cent. A.D.): φυλάσσεται Τουθοῦν δν ξεκεν Σάρα, ἀπὸ|παντὸς ρίγους καὶ πυρετὸς (sic) τριτέου, τεταρτέ[ο]υ, καθημερηνόν, ἀμφημερηνάι, κτλ. P. J. Sijpesteijn, “Ein christliches Amulett aus der Amsterdamer Papyrussammlung,” *ZPE* 5 (1970) 58; θεραπ[εῦσον] μέγα. δν ξεκεν Δ . . . [ἀπὸ π]άσης νόσου καὶ|πόνου κεφαλῆς καὶ κοτράφων (sic)|καὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ ριγοπυρέτου. This last papyrus is important because it too contains a spell for headache as well as fever.

Roman Surgical Instruments in Malibu and Richmond

Two splendid sets of Roman surgical instruments have recently come to my attention. The first is currently on display at the J. Paul Getty Museum (hereafter Getty) in Malibu, California; the second at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (hereafter VMFA) in Richmond, Virginia. By chance the two sets share common features, so it is fitting that they be published together.¹ I offer the following catalogue and comments.²

THE GETTY SET (ACCESSION NO. 79.AC.30)

All of the instruments are well preserved. Each was manufactured in one piece and of bronze which now is encrusted with a brownish green patina with occasional bluish green traces of copper oxide. In addition to featuring an instrument at one extremity, each piece is also decorated with sets of raised bands (variously arranged) along its lower shaft, with four to six parallel grooves along its handle (with the exception of 13 which has no grooves), and with a splendid finial at its other extremity. In some cases the motif of the finial can be easily identified, e.g. the hand on 11 and the phallus on 12; in other cases one can only guess. The finials of pieces 1–10 and 13 appear to me to represent stylized vegetable motifs which remind me of pine cones, ears of grain and buds. This is, of course, only my own reaction but, in the absence of a major study of finials of this kind, I have used these terms (which others are welcome to dispute) for the sake of convenience.

THE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUMENTS (FIGG. 1 AND 2)

1. Elongated Curette/Sound. Present length 20.4 cm.; w. (of sound) 6 cm.; cf. M-S, 40, Taf. III, fig. 4.

*I am very grateful for their help and advice to: Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum; Margaret Ellen Mayo, Curator of Ancient Art at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; and Charles Bodermer, Chairman of the Department of Biomedical History at the University of Washington. I assume complete responsibility.

1. A third set with similar features has recently been acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri. I am grateful to Jane C. Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, for notifying me of the existence of this set and for sending on a photo.

The instrument is shaped like a hollow, narrow spoon which bends slightly backward toward its now damaged tip. As it is bent, the instrument is perhaps less likely to have served as a scoop for removing and measuring medicaments than for probing. M-S (loc. cit.) identifies a similar piece in his collection as a director over which a scalpel might be passed after it had been inserted into a fistula or wound (on this operation see also Milne, 73). It is also possible that the piece was used as a curette since the cyathiscomele (Löffelsonde) which it resembles was also sometimes employed as such (see Milne, 62).

The finial is flat and seems to represent an ear of grain; cf. Getty 4. There are five parallel grooves on the handle.

2. Surgical Knife. L. 19.9 cm.; w. (of blade) .6 cm.³

The blade (also shown on Fig. 2.1) is long and narrow; it has cutting edges on both sides and is sharp at its pointed tip. Obviously such an instrument could have been used for puncturing as well as cutting.

A number of double edged, sharp pointed surgical knives with which the Getty piece might be identified are attested in the ancient sources. These include:⁴

1) the *φλεβοτόμον* (Latin, *scalpellus*) which, in addition to blood letting, was used for such operations as opening of abscesses, perforation of fluid filled cavities, excision of warts, and dissection of imperforate vagina (cf. Milne, 32–36). Historically, not all types of the phlebotome have been shaped like lancets; Lorenz Heister illustrated longer types in his 18th century manual and similar shapes survive from antiquity (cf. Milne, pl. VII, 3, 6–7);

2) the *κατιάς*, which was used for puncturing the foetal cranium in obstructed labor, for treating abscesses of the womb and throat, for drawing blood from the nose, and

2. In what follows I shall so frequently refer to J. S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* (London, 1907) and T. Meyer-Steinig, *Chirurgische Instrumente des Altertums* (Jena, 1912) that henceforth these works will be abbreviated to Milne and M-S respectively.

3. A similar knife is now to be found in the recently acquired set at the University of Missouri.

4. I do not include the *σκολοπομαχαίριον* or “stake-shaped knife” because it appears to have had only one edge; cf. M-S, 32.

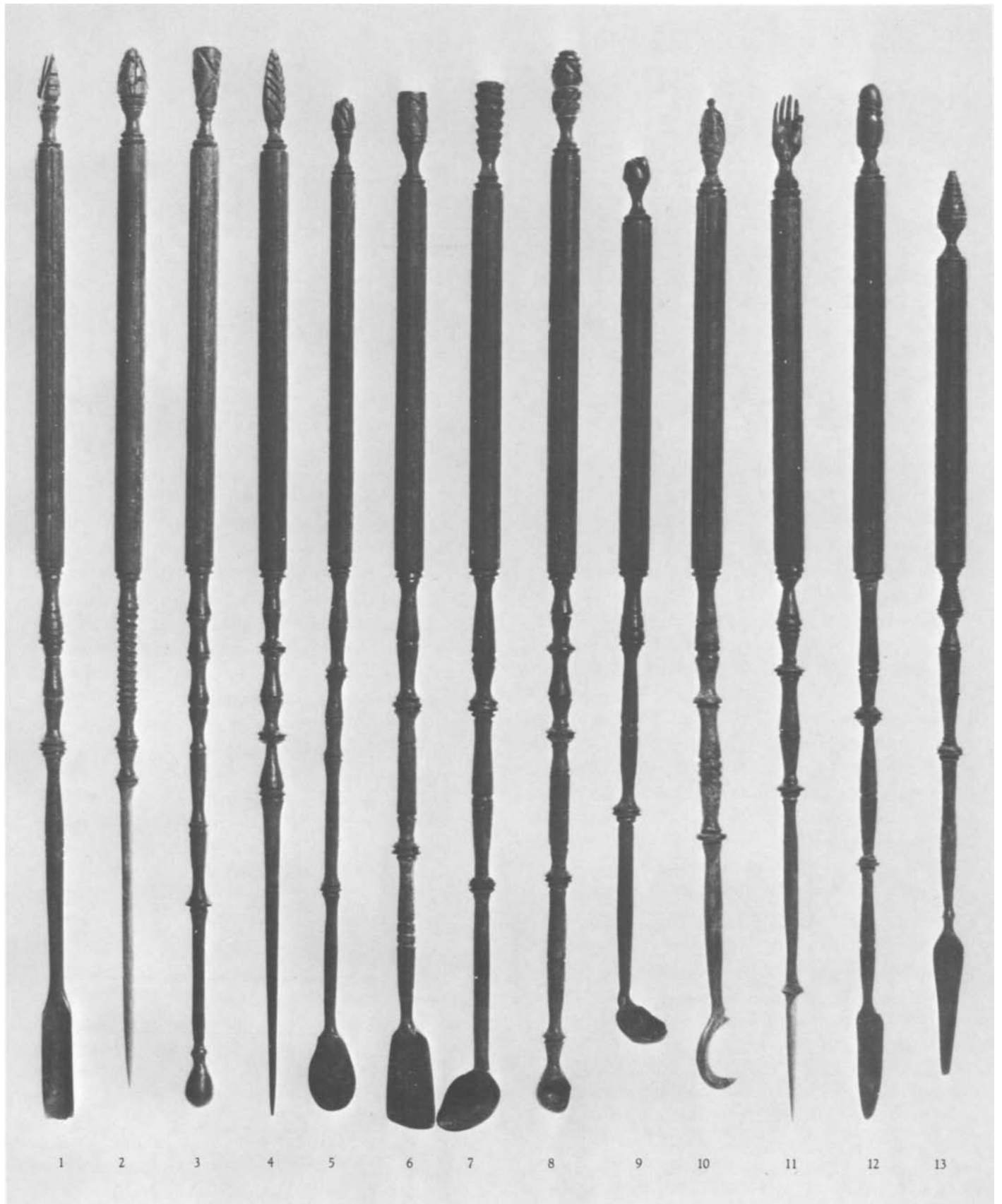


Figure 1. Set of Roman Surgical Instruments. Malibu.

for puncturing the membranes when their rupture was not spontaneous (cf. *Milne*, 36–38);

3) The *ἐμβρυοτόμον*, which was used to puncture the foetal cranium (cf. *Milne*, 43) and vaginal abscesses (M-S, 34).

Obviously the Getty knife could have been employed in any of the above procedures and might therefore represent any of these instruments; or, on the not unreasonable assumption that the names of these instruments were interchangeable and did not necessarily designate specifically distinct surgical knives (cf. M-S, 33–34), the Getty piece may represent all of them.

The finial appears to be a pine cone. The lower shaft features a handsome spiral design created with wire applique. Five parallel grooves decorate the handle.

3. Olivary Probe (*μήλη*, *specillum*). L. 20.3 cm.; cf. *Milne*, 51–58, pl. XI, figg. 3, 5; VMFA 7.

Such probes were especially used for mixing and applying medicaments; but they were also employed in exploring lesions and fistulae and even as cauteries. M-S cites passages demonstrating that the tip, which the ancients called “olive kernel” or “berry,” (*πυρήν*, *baca*), was well suited for adhering to wool swabs (22). In rare cases, as here, the “olive kernel” is globular in shape (cf. *Milne*, 53).

The finial motif may be based on the pine cone. Whatever it represents, it appears that Getty 6 and 7 are variations on the same theme. There are five parallel grooves on the handle.

4. Simple Probe (*ἄπυρομήλη*, *specillum*). L. 20.4 cm.; cf. *Milne*, 51–58 (esp. 53–54); M-S, 22–23, Taf. I, figg. 3 and 8.

The simple probe might be either blunt or sharp at the tip. This piece is of the latter type which is attested as having been used in exploring bone fractures and breaks and blind fistulae.

For the finial cf. Getty 1. The handle has five parallel grooves.

5. Flat Scoop (*κυαθίσκος*, *ligula*). L. 19.5 cm.; w. (of scoop) 1 cm.; c. *Milne*, 77–78, 78, pl. XVIII, fig. 3.

The present piece somewhat resembles a small spatula probe; thus, while it must have been used, as other *ligulae*, for removing and applying medicaments, it might also have performed some of the operations of the spatula probe, e.g. blunt dissection (see *Milne*, 58–61).

The finial resembles a bud, the same or a similar motif also occurring on Getty 9 and VMFA 3 and 6–8. The handle has four parallel grooves.

6. Flat scoop (*κυαθίσκος*, *ligula*). L. 19.9 cm.; w. (of scoop) 1 cm.; cf. Getty 5.

5. He calls the instrument a *ξύστρα*; cf. *Milne*, 157 for references and discussion.

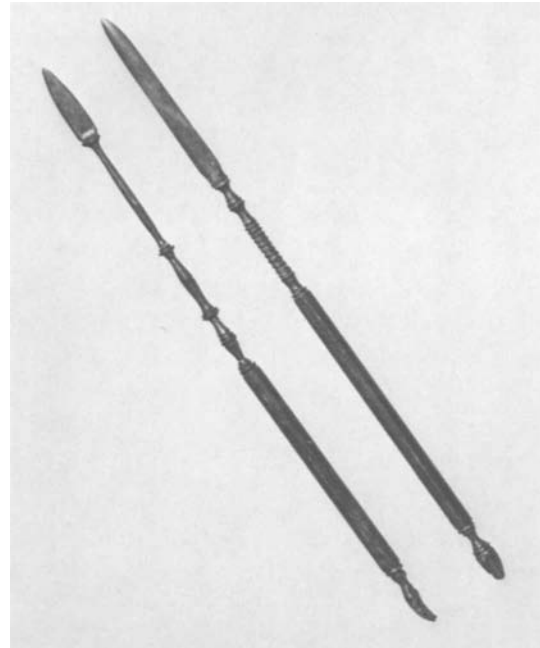


Figure 2. Surgical knife and lancet from Fig. 1.

This scoop differs from Getty 5 in that it is of rectangular (not rounded) shape and in that the scoop itself is slightly offset from the shaft. Its function, however, would have been substantially the same.

The finial motif may be compared with that of Getty 3 and 7. It is peculiar in that it is not solid but hollow with no top. There are four parallel grooves on the handle.

7. Curette (?). L. 20.3 cm.; w. (of curette) 1.5 cm.

The instrument strikes one initially as a spoon; and indeed spoons were commonly used by Greek and Roman physicians for removing, measuring, and heating medicaments (*Milne*, 78–79). It is peculiar, however, in that the “spoon” is at an angle to the shaft, and not in the same plane as is the usual case; cf. e.g. *Milne*, pl. XIX, Figg. 1, 3 and 4; M-S, Taf. II, figg. 5 and 7; C. Brunner, *Die Spuren der römischen Ärzte* etc. (Zurich, 1893), Taf. III, figg. 8–11; Deneffe, *Étude sur la Trousse d'un Chirurgien Gallo-Romain* etc. (Anvers, 1893), pl. 4, fig. 14. This would make the piece a very clumsy spoon, especially since the bowl is not even at a right angle to the shaft. It seems to me, therefore, that it served as something else, perhaps as a uterine curette, some modern models of which it resembles. Also in favor of a curette is the sharp sturdy edge of its bowl. Hippocrates attests the use of such curettes⁵ and a few other surviving pieces have also been identified as such. They have rather different shapes than the Getty piece

and differ in shape among themselves; cf. e.g. R. Caton, *JHS* (1914), 17 (no. VIII) and pl. XI, fig. 24; M-S, 26 and Taf. I, fig. 1.

For the finial cf. Getty 3 and 6. There are five parallel grooves on the handle.

8. Bowl-shaped Scoop (κυσθίσκος, ligula). L. 20.3 cm.; cf. *Milne*, 77–78, pl. XVIII, figg. 5 and 8; VMFA 3.

Some ligulae were flat like Getty 5 and 6; others were bowl-shaped like this piece. As part of a physician's repertoire it was used for extracting medicaments from containers and applying them. It was also a household item, being used as a simple toilet article.

The finial is rather like a pine cone. The handle is decorated with five parallel grooves.

9. Curette (?) L. 16.6 cm.

All remarks about Getty 7 apply equally well to this piece which has all of the same features. I suspect, therefore, that it too was employed as a curette.

For the finial cf. Getty 5. There are five parallel grooves on the handle.

10. Crescent-shaped Knife. L. 18.3 cm.; w. (of crescent) 1 cm.

The interior of the crescent has a sharp cutting edge. This would seem to preclude identifying the present piece with any of the surgical "hooks" attested in the sources (i.e. the "sharp" hook, *Milne* 85–87; the blunt hook, *Milne* 87–88 and the "embryo" hook *Milne* 152–154) because none of these hooks had such an edge. The brutal "embryo" hook (ἐμβρυουλκός, uncus) was pointed and, while surviving examples are of approximately the same length as the Getty instrument, they are much sturdier (a feature emphasized by Albucasis, II, 77) and have hooks of steel attached to handles of bronze; cf. B. Vulpes, *Illustrazione di tutti gli Strumenti Chirurgici* etc., (Napoli, 1847), Tav. VII, fig. IX. The "sharp" hook (ἀγκιστρον, hamulus acutus) was, as its Latin name shows, a smaller hook which was slender and sharply pointed for piercing and raising flesh (e.g. tonsils) but it was not used for cutting. Finally, while *Milne* illustrates some "blunt" hooks (τυφλάγκιστρον, hamus retusus) which were "half sharp" (pl. XXIII, figg. 2 and 4), these were, in his view, for retraction and blunt dissection and not keenly sharpened for cutting.

It appears then that the Getty instrument is a type of curved knife. Of the curved surgical knives attested, it is not likely to be the decapitator (uncus) used in transverse presentations (*Milne*, 154) because it is not sufficiently large and sturdy; for the same reason it seems unsuited to

the functions of the "crows beak" (corvus, ὄξυκόρακον ομίλιον, see *Milne*, 43) which was used in opening the scrotum. A likelier candidate is the tonsil knife (ἀγυλοτόμον) which is said by Paul of Aegina to be curved (VI, xxx) and equally attractive is the knife for removing the uvula (σταφυλοτόμον). Paul, who also attests this instrument (VI, xxxi) does not describe it but Albucasis, who relied on Paul for this operation, figures a curved knife resembling the Getty piece (II, 37). Albucasis also figures such a knife in connection with haemorrhoidectomy.

The finial resembles a pine cone or bud. The handle has five parallel grooves.

11. Lancet (φλεβοτόμον, scalpellus). L. 19.6 cm.; w. (of blade which is also shown on Fig. 2, no. 2) .7 cm.; see *Milne*, 32–38 and pl. VII, figg. 2 and 3; cf. also Getty 12 and 13; VMFA 1, 2, 5.

The lancet or phlebotome is chiefly associated with blood-letting but such instruments were also employed in puncturing abscesses and fluid-filled cavities as well as in dissecting work. All of the Getty and VMFA types have sharp pointed blades with cutting edges on both sides mounted on long shafts. Most of the blades are small enough to be used for work inside the nose and all could be used in the throat or womb. I emphasize these features because all of them are characteristic of the mysterious κατιάς. Some hold that there is no difference between the κατιάς and the phlebotome (e.g. M-S, 33) but *Milne* is open to the idea that the κατιάς was a variety of phlebotome with a long handle "to adapt it for uterine and transnasal operations" (p. 38). If so, the Getty and VMF pieces all qualify.

The finial is a splendid hand which is appropriate on a surgical instrument as an apotropaic device. The handle has six parallel grooves.

12. Lancet. L. 19.8 cm.; w. (of blade) .5 cm.; see Getty 11 for discussion.

A phallus forms the finial. It is so well wrought that even the corpora cavernosa are detailed by incision on its underside. The phallus was a common apotropaic device among the Romans and so is most appropriate on a surgical instrument. There are five parallel grooves on the handle.

13. Lancet. L. 19.8 cm.; w. (of blade) .5–2. cm.; see Getty no. 11 for discussion.

The finial motif is of the pine cone type and resembles VMFA 9 and 10. This is the only one of the Getty pieces not decorated with parallel grooves on its handle.

6. An identical instrument is to be found in the newly acquired set at the University of Missouri.

7. Note also that no driving mechanism is included in the VMFA set. For such mechanisms cf. the bow drills figured by R. Caton, *art. cit.*, fig. 2 and by J. Como, *Germania* 9 (1925) 156, fig. 19.

THE VMFA SET (ACCESSION NO. 79.115.1/10)

Each piece is well preserved. All are of bronze which now has a brownish green to light green patina. As with the Getty set, all of the VMFA instruments are elaborately decorated with variegated sets of raised bands along their shafts and with similar finials surmounting their handles. As the forceps (no. 10) had no shaft to decorate, the finial motif (a pine cone?) was compounded. Unlike the Getty set, none of these pieces has parallel grooves on its handle.

THE INDIVIDUAL INSTRUMENTS (FIG. 3)

1. Lancet. L. 15.4 cm.
resemble the Getty lancets; see Getty 11 for discussion.
The finial is reminiscent of that on Getty 3.
2. Lancet. Preserved length 13.8 cm.
See Getty 11 for discussion of such lancets.
The finial resembles both a bud and a cone. I am informed that it is now broken off and lost. Fortunately, the photo was taken prior to this mishap.
3. Bowl-shaped Scoop. L. 15.5 cm. Note: The photo shows the underside of the bowl. See Getty 8, which the piece closely resembles, for discussion.
The finial is of the bud type; cf. Getty 5 and 9 and VMFA 6-8.
4. Crescent-shaped Retractor/Dissector. L. 14.9 cm; see Milne 87-88 for discussion.
While this piece is very similar in shape to the crescent-shaped knife in the Getty set (10), it must be distinguished from the latter in that it does not have a keen cutting edge on its inner side. It is sharp toward the point in this area and likewise toward the shaft but its middle part is quite dull. Unless we suppose that it was not properly sharpened or that it was dulled by some accident (the latter not apparent to the eye), it would seem that it did not serve as a knife. Rather it should probably be counted among the half-sharp, retractor/dissector types of blunt hooks discussed by Milne (loc. cit.). I know of no exact parallel but the blunt hook in the set of instruments recovered near Colophon is somewhat similar in shape and of approximately the same size; cf. JHS, 34 (1914), 115 and pl. X, fig. 19.

The finial seems to be a bud.

5. Lancet. L. 15.9 cm.; cf. Getty 11 for discussion.
The finial is not damaged but it looks incomplete. Perhaps it was intended to look like the one on VMFA 2.

6. Blunt Hook (τυφλάγκιστρον, hamus retusus). L. 16.1 cm.; see Milne, 87-88 and pl. XXIII, fig. 3.

Although it is difficult to determine from the photo, the instrument is shaped like a hoe as is the case with some blunt hooks like the one in the British Museum figured in Milne. In contrast to VMFA 4, a sturdier retractor/dissector, this piece would best have served to retract, without injury, delicate areas like the eyelid and to remove objects from the ear.

For the finial see Getty 5.

7. Olivary Probe. L. 16.4 cm.; cf. Getty 3.
As in the case of the Getty piece the "olive kernel" is of the globular type.

The finial motif resembles a bud; cf. Getty 5.

8. Simple Probe. L. 15 cm.; cf. Getty 4.
The piece is sharp and pick-like as is true of its comparison piece.

The finial is of the bud type, cf. Getty 5.

9. Twisted Probe (?). L. 11 cm.⁶
This piece can easily be taken for a drill bit. And indeed drill bits of this sort were widely used by Greek and Roman surgeons for boring out weapons lodged deeply in thick bone and in removing circular pieces of skull which were drilled around at several points and then broken out with raspatories or chisels (Milne, 126-130). But the fine finial on the present piece precludes its ever having been used for these procedures. Drill bits had to be inserted into chucks in order to be rotated at high speeds by driving mechanisms. The finial would have proved an encumbrance in this regard and would eventually have been badly damaged.⁷ There was, however, a λεπτόν τρύπανον mentioned by Galen (XII, 821) and Paul (VI, xxii) as being operated by hand in the treatment of fistula lachrymalis. The present piece might have been so employed but it does not look as though its handle would have provided a very firm grip for this operation and it bears no resemblance at all to the unthreaded, pointed instrument from the gear of the third century oculist, G. Firmius Severus, which Deneffe has identified as this λεπρόν τρύπανον (*Les Oculistes Gallo-Romains* etc., (Anvers, 1896), 103-104 and pll. III, fig. 3; IV, fig. 3).

I believe that we have here what, in modern times, is called a "screw probe," an instrument which can be wrapped with a medicated or non-medicated swab (held by its twisted surface) and inserted into cavities for purposes of applying medicament or cleaning.⁸ The ancients do not

8. I am not sure that the screw probe is still in use. At least no such instrument was recognized by those in charge of the instruments in the operating room of the hospital at the University of Washington.

attest this instrument but neither do they attest other instruments which nevertheless survive.⁹ Milne has identified as a screw probe a piece of similar size from the Roman camp at Sandy (68; pl. XXI, fig. 5). It differs from the present piece in that its "threads" are much finer and closer.

The finial is of the pine cone type and is identical with VMFA 10; cf. also Getty 13.

10. Epilation Forceps (τριχολαβίς, vulsella). L. 8 cm.; cf. *Milne* 90–93 and pl. XXVI, fig. 2.¹⁰

Epilation was a common procedure in treating ophthalmia which was so common in antiquity. There were two basic types of instruments for the purpose, one with wide legs and one with the slender legs possessed by this piece. In addition to extracting individual hairs from the eyelid, such instruments also were used to extract foreign objects from, e.g., the ear or to remove bone splinters.

The finial is like that on VMFA 9.

COMMENTARY ON BOTH SETS

A. Technical Considerations.

In a well-known passage the fourth century A.D. medical authority, Oribasius, records that bronze instruments and tools (ὄργανα) were the products of cold working, not casting (IV, 336). A close inspection of the Getty and VMFA pieces bears out Oribasius, but only insofar as the functional parts of the instruments are concerned. In these areas (esp. Getty 7–9; VMFA 1, 4) traces of the hammer or whatever blunt instrument was used by the artisan can clearly be seen; but such marks are not to be seen on the shafts, handles and finials. There are, however, the marks of an engraving tool in these areas. It seems then that, in manufacturing these pieces, the smith first cast them in something approximately their final forms (the casting explains the hollow finial on Getty 6) and then hammered their "business ends" into shape. In the case of the forceps (VMFA 10) he seems to have created the two legs of the piece by splitting the rod. When this was done he proceeded with his engraving tool to bring out the details of the finials and the raised bands decorating the shafts. This he did quite nicely. The artisan did less well with the parallel grooves on the handles of the Getty instruments. Occasionally his tool slipped as he worked at these grooves with the result that a number of unsightly, deviant grooves remain as mute testimony to his mistakes.

It was also at this point in the manufacturing process that the wire applique was set on the shaft of Getty 2. Finally the smith removed any rough spots with a file and gave edges to the cutting instruments. After tempering the pieces were ready for use, and, except for the patina, they looked exactly as they do today.¹¹

B. Peculiar Features of These Instruments

It should be clear that the Getty and VMFA instruments are not haphazard collections brought together by Roman physicians or by modern collectors. Rather they were manufactured specifically as sets, a conclusion which is supported by these considerations.

First of all, as has been observed, each piece is richly decorated. While no two pieces have exactly the same decoration, all are decorated in the same way, i.e. with a series of raised bands arranged along their lower shafts and with finials surmounting their handles. Many Roman surgical instruments are decorated in this way but few have such attractive finials. In short, I find it difficult to view as a haphazard collection instruments over which such uniform care was taken. Each and every piece is so aesthetically pleasing and so much in harmony with its fellow instruments.¹²

One should also observe that each shaft carries only one instrument. Most Roman medical equipment which is arranged on a shaft or handle bears an instrument at each extremity. This is a common enough feature of such equipment as to have prompted modern authorities to remark upon it on more than one occasion.¹³ Of the thirteen pieces of the Getty set, however, and of the ten in the VMFA set, none features more than one instrument. In this regard, too, these sets are unique.

Finally, in the case of the Getty instruments, an additional criterion may be cited: size. Each of the Getty pieces is distinguished by being among the larger examples (if they are not, in fact, the largest in some cases) of similar instruments to survive. For example, the bowl-shaped ligula (8) is bigger than any of the ligula of any type figured by *Milne* in pl. XVIII, the simple probe (4) towers over the examples in M-S (Taf. 1) and *Milne* (pl. X), and the three lancets (11–13) are substantially larger than anything in *Milne* (pl. VII) and are as large or larger than similar pieces in M-S (Taf. III–IV). (All of these pieces are, of course, also larger than their counterparts in the VMFA set.) On the other hand, the Getty pieces are all of ap-

9. For example, the bladder sound, a specimen of which is to be found in Mainz; cf. *Milne*, pl. XLV, fig. 3.

10. A very similar piece is included in the University of Missouri set.

11. For interesting discussions of the manufacture of ancient surgical instruments in general see M-S, 13–19 and G. M. Longfield-Jones in J. F.

Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World*, 246–251.

12. Note in contrast, for example, the diversity of decor in the Bingen-am-Rhein and Colophon sets; cf. J. Como, *Germania*, 9, (1925), 152–162; *JHS*, 34, (1914), 114–118, p11. X–XII.

13. Cf. *Milne*, 18; M-S, 23–30.

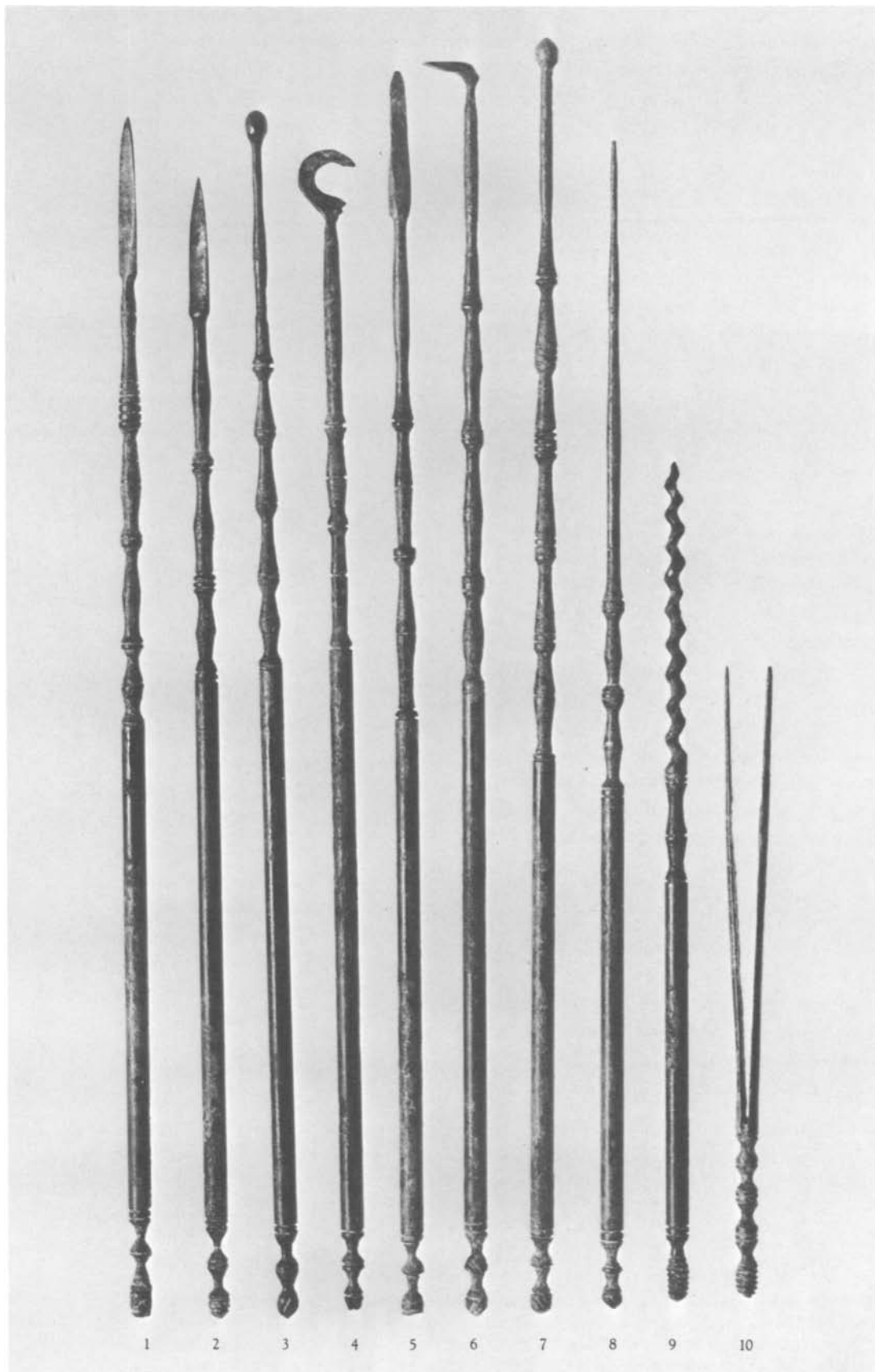


Figure 3. Set of Roman Surgical Instruments. Richmond.

proximately the same length, the greatest variation being between 1 and 4 (20.4 cm.) and 9 (16.6 cm.). And to a real degree the same uniformity of size holds true for the VMFA pieces (9 and 10 excepted). There should be no question then that the Getty and VMFA instruments were created as sets.

C. The Relationship Between the Sets

It might be objected that their very similarity in so many respects allows for the possibility that the Getty and VMFA pieces were, in fact, all parts of one set which has been broken up for sale in modern times. This is unlikely because, in addition to being similar, the two sets are also different in important ways.

Again, there is the matter of size: the Getty pieces are both longer and stouter than the VMFA pieces. There are also subtle differences in the finials of each set. Those of the VMFA set (with the exception of 9) are shaped like dumb-bells in that they consist of two elaborated tumescences connected by a thin bond, a feature shared by none of the Getty pieces. Finally there is the fact that the handles of the Getty pieces (13 excepted) are decorated with incised parallel grooves as is not the case with the VMFA instruments.¹⁴

It would, of course, have been quite possible (and natural) to create two sets by separating the larger and the smaller pieces of one set or by separating those with dumb-bell finials from those without them. But it seems to me more than a coincidence that all of the smaller (and none of the larger) pieces have the dumb-bell type finials and that only the larger pieces have the handles with parallel grooves. These considerations I regard as decisively against the view that the Getty and VMFA instruments were originally one set.

It would seem, then, that we are indeed dealing with two sets that were fashioned separately. Still, the similarities between the sets are very striking and certainly prompt the conclusion that, although distinct, they must have been created in the same area—perhaps even the same workshop—at approximately the same time.

D. Date and Provenience

The remaining question is, where and when were these splendid instruments produced?

The date is certainly sometime during the Roman empire and the place of manufacture somewhere within the

boundaries of the empire because similar finials are found on all sorts of minor objects throughout the Roman world at that time. Unfortunately it is difficult to be more precise. The “vegetable” motifs range widely in date and are not, so far as I know, characteristic of any particular region of the empire.¹⁵ The hand on Getty 11 and the phallus on Getty 12 may provide a few clues. Two pins in the British Museum featuring the hand motif, executed and mounted in the same way are dated to the first or second century A.D.¹⁶ and I should think that the apotropaic phallus would be an infrequent motif in the Christian atmosphere of the later empire. As to place of origin, many years ago Milne observed that even “instruments found in the provinces have an *air de famille* which would lead one to suppose that they have been manufactured in Italy—(p. 18)” and it is not uncommon for sets discovered outside of Italy to be thought of as Italian.¹⁷ Still, Milne recognized that there is no certainty that all sets, wherever found, originated in Italian workshops. I am presently inclined to see these sets as having been created in Italy in the early empire, although I cannot claim to have had the last word. What is needed to settle the matter is a comparable set of surgical instruments or even a single instrument the date and provenience of which are established with certainty.

CONCLUSION

The Romans, it seems, paid much more attention to the aesthetic aspects of their surgical instruments than is the case in the more utilitarian atmosphere of modern times. One suspects that this was true in part because, given the more primitive state of surgery in those days, a physician might inspire more confidence in his patients if his gear looked good. Lucian, the satirist, lends support to this view when he mentions second-rate physicians who possessed all sorts of fancily ornamented equipment, obviously to attract patients. To these frauds Lucian preferred a competent practitioner with a rusty knife!¹⁸ We have no way of knowing how skilled the surgeons were who owned the Getty and VMFA instruments; but this much is certain: their equipment, in terms both of its utilitarian quality and of its aesthetic appeal, was, for the times, absolutely first rate.

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14. There is no point to the objection that, were the sets combined, many instruments would be duplicated, e.g. 6 lancets, 2 olivary probes etc. Other sets betray this feature and there seems to have been no economy observed in this regard; cf. e.g. the set of the “Surgeon of Paris” in Deneffe, *Étude sur la Trousse* etc.

15. For comparison pieces cf. G. R. Davidson, *Corinth* etc., Vol. XII,

The Minor Objects (Princeton, 1952): nos. 1382, 1486, 2309–2313, 2318–2320, 2330, 2338–2339. These pieces range in date from the first century A.D. to—in one case (1382)—the Byzantine period.

16. Nos. 72 6–4 838; 72 6–4 839.

17. Cf. Como, *art. cit.*, 161; Deneffe *Étude sur la Trousse*, etc., 14.

18. *Ibid.* 29.

More Republican Coins from Two Hoards in the Getty Museum

In a recent number of the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*¹ I noted the acquisition and loan of sixty denarii from two Roman Republican hoards. It is exciting indeed that more recently another thirty-seven Republican coins have been donated to the museum, including twenty-one denarii from the later of these two north Italian hoards. Some of

these are the same coins that I saw originally in 1975 in Los Angeles, and at least two of the Getty denarii along with other coins from the hoard have appeared in trade publications.² There follows a list of the new denarii from the hoard now in the museum:

RRC#*	MONEYER	DATE	TOTAL # IN HOARD**	REMARKS
1. 353/1a	Mn. Fonteius	85	6	Slight wear
2. 383/1	Ti. Claudius	79	5	Some wear; dark stain; control mark CXXXXVII
3. 393/1a	Cn. Lentulus	76-5	7	Some wear; dark stain
4. 408/1	C. Piso Frugi	67	2	Control marks Γ and fish
5. 409/1	M. Plaetorius	67	5	Some wear; dark stain
6. 416/1b	Libo	62	3	Some wear; dark stain
7-8. 422/1b	M. Scaurus, P. Hypsaesus	58	5	Slight and v. slight wear; dark stain on 7
9-10. 425/1	Philippus	56	3	V. slight wear; one with mark ∪ on obverse (9)
11. 442/1a	Mn. Acilius	49	26	V. slight wear
12. 442/1b	Mn. Acilius	49	26	No wear
13-14. 443/1	Caesar	49-8	35	Slight wear; some wear***
15. 449/1	C. Vibius Pansa	48	3	Slight wear; dark stain
16. 452/2	Caesar	48-7	4	Same coin as <i>JNFA</i> XX.E3; v. slight wear; no ∪ evident
17. 458/1	Caesar	47-6	15	No wear; has been recleaned (trace of dark stain remains on obverse)****
18. 464/5	T. Carisius	46	3	Some wear; dark stain
19. 465/1	Considius Paetus	46	1	Some wear; trace of dark stain
20. 468/1	Caesar	46-5	3	Same coin as <i>JNFA</i> XX.E4; slight wear; dark stain
21. 480/19	Cossutius Maridianus	44	2	Slight wear; dark stain; the legend is <i>PARE:S PATRIAE</i> (as on the die BMC 4190)

* M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974)

** The number previously published plus the number in this donation. I have not distinguished varieties of the same type.

*** I originally recorded thirty-two of this issue in the Los Angeles trade. For a photograph of some of these, see *JNFA* 5.3 (1976) 55.

**** There were none of these in the original Los Angeles lot, but see *JNFA* 5.3 (1976) 55.

The addition of these coins to the list of those already published reinforces earlier conclusions. There are still no known coins in the hoard that date to the years between 41 and 31, but the gap between the earlier denarii and the one last coin issued by Antony in 32–31 appears to be

confirmed by the significant wear on the coins of the mid-forties. The rarity in general of the issues of the very late forties and thirties B.C.³ and the fact that many of these coins were issued outside Italy where the hoard was buried further explain the gap.

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1. 6-7 (1978-79) 163-172.
2. *JNFA* 5.3 (1976) 55 and pl. XVIII-XX = *Coin Hoards* 3 (1977), no. 128.
3. According to Crawford's die estimates in RRC 1, there are no issues of this period struck from more than thirty obverse dies.



Notes

A Lead Curse Tablet

The first *tabella defixionis* in the Getty's antiquities collection was acquired through the generosity of an anonymous donor.¹ It was allegedly found under water. If so, this would be consistent with the frequent practice of committing such inscribed curses to wells, streams, rivers, and other bodies of water as part of the magic ritual.²

Initially, the Latin curse could be read only partially and with some difficulty since the lead tablet on which it had been inscribed was afterwards not only pierced by two nails, which eventually corroded considerably, but also folded in half. To complete the reading, the tablet had to be opened and treated in separate processes to clean, consolidate, and stabilize the material.³ This done, the inscription could be studied more readily. (Fig. 1)

When the text was finally deciphered,⁴ it was found, on the left side, to consist of a listing of names with, on the right, the *defixio* itself (Fig. 2). Because, as Fox points out, the most crucial part of the *defixio* was the accurate naming of the person(s) to be cursed,⁵ the names were inscribed carefully in neat, legible letters. Of the six, Philocomus, Antiochus, Pharnace, and Socus are attested by Pape.⁶ Lirato does not, to my knowledge, previously appear in either Greek or Latin; however Epidia is known.⁷

Whereas the names were probably new to the inscriber and, of course, had to be absolutely correct, the curse-tablet itself would most likely have been only one of many and therefore may have been written more hastily and, as a result, more carelessly. The cursive style of the lettering corresponds to that on other tablets dated to the late second and early third centuries A.D.⁸

A	B
PHILOCOMVS	TABESCAT, CEAT
ANTIOC(H)VS	DOM(I)NIS NON PIA
P(H)ARNACE	FIDE HIS QVORVM
SOCVS	NOM[INA] HIC SVNT
5 LIRATŌ	5 PIA FA[CTA] QVO E PLA-
EPIDIA	GE AN PECVLIO IL(1) 0-
	RVM DICTA FACTA
	AD INFERO[RVM]

The precise reading of the first line raises several possibilities. Forms of *tabesco* appear on other *defixiones*⁹ and, as it stands here, *tabescat* could be sensibly taken in an individual sense for each of the names listed. The last four letters of the line are doubtless *ceat*. If "i" were accepted after *tabescat*,¹⁰ the reading could be *tabescat*, (*i*)*ceat* and could even be made plural—*tabesca(n)t*, (*i*)*ceant*—or perhaps a combination of the two.¹¹ This causes a discrepancy between the understood subjects of both verbs—the accursed and the force that should strike them down. The most comfortable possibility is the one involving the alteration. Since the omission of the letter "i" is not uncommon in inscriptions, *ceat* can be easily made to read *c(i)eat*.¹² In this way, both verbs make sense, are consistent with one another, and are applicable to the defixed individuals.

Providing the omitted "i" in the first word of line 2 leaves us with *dom(i)nis* modified by *his* in line 3. *Non pia fide*, perhaps in-

1. 77.AC.97; 12.6 x 9.3 cm. A hole in the lower right corner of the tablet was "filled" by the conservation lab, so the photograph and drawing do not seem to agree.

2. For a full consideration of this aspect of ancient curses, see W. S. Fox, "Submerged Tabellae Defixionum" in *AJP*, XXXIII, 3 (1912), pp. 301–310.

3. The conservation treatment is described in full by Z. Barov in *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Pamphlet 3, *Conservation of Antiquities* (1978), 32.

4. I am grateful to Roy Kotansky whose help in reading the tablet was invaluable. He also provided the excellent drawing illustrated in the text.

5. W. S. Fox, *The Johns Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum* (Supplement to *AJP* XXXIII, 1 (1912), p. 35).

6. W. Pape, *Wörterbuch des griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig 1842), S.S.V.V. Φιλόκομος, Φαρνάκη, Ἀντιόχος, Σώκος. Philocomus appears in Latin as a freedman in *CIL* I² 1005 and VI, 10317; Antiochus (sic) appears frequently as both freedman and slave in many instances in A. DeGrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* (Firenze, 1963) 200, 729, 731, 738, 743, 745, 1028 plus several others and also with variations of the spelling of the name.

7. *CIL* I² 1739.

8. See note 5, plate VIII, with illustration of lettering on lead tablets from Nomentum.

9. A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), 190, 14, 18; 193, 9; 195, 5.

10. What I am now convinced is a scratch or crack in the lead seemed at first to be an "i" which, if inserted, would change the reading; an omitted "i" did not seem impossible since it is a letter often left out in inscriptions. See Audollent 190, 11 etc; DeGrassi 540, 653, 695 etc.

11. If one wished to consider the "c" of the last four letters as representing "s", then the line could even be read as *tabescat(i)s, ea(n)t*. A sloppy "c" can look like "s" in Audollent (plate VIII, tablets from Nomentum) but the inscriber of our tablet appears to me to have been quite consistent in making those two letters distinctly different from one another.

12. Two interesting comparisons involving *cieo* and things related to the underworld occur in Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, 490 (*nocturnos manes*) and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VI, 662 (*vipereasque ciet Stygia de valle sorores*).



Figure 1. Lead *tabella defixionis*. Malibu.

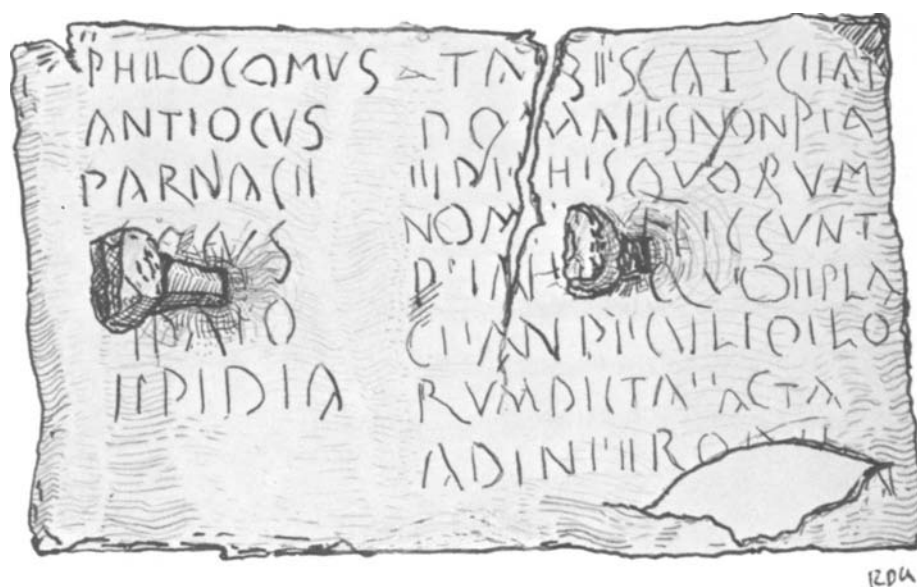


Figure 2. Drawing of the *tabella* and its text.

tended as an equivalent for *mala fide*, is read without difficulty. The area of lines 3 and 4, obliterated by the nail, can be easily completed to read *nom[ina] hic sunt pia fa[cta]*. Of the next five words, only *plage* does not seem to be a legitimate form. It must be a scribal error in which *plaga* was intended but written with an ablative “e” instead of the correct “a.” It is possible for *il(l)orum*¹³ to be taken with either *peculio* or *dicta facta*.

The final line leaves something to be desired due to the fact that part of the tablet itself is lost and, with it, some lettering. From the traces of remaining strokes, it seems that it can be completed in no other way than *ad infero[rum]*. Of course, *ad inferos*¹⁴ plus some short verb would be preferable; but following the “o,” the lines of the next letter do not allow for “s,” and thus one can only guess what is to be understood in completing the meaning of the line.

As stated above, Epidia is a Latin name, the origin of Lirato unknown, and the other four names, even if in Roman letters, are definitely Greek. Since slave names are commonly Greek, it is possible that this *defixio* is directed, at least in part, against some runaway slaves.¹⁵

Rendering the *defixio* (Fig. 3) with its correct intent into English is not done without some risk, for it requires that some of the thought and words be supplied. The most satisfying version, admittedly with free expansion, goes this way: “May each one rot, may each cry out for help because of their dishonesty towards their masters, those (slaves) whose names are here dutifully recorded, so that [although having escaped] from a beating or with their property, the things they have said [and] done [may be consigned] to the gods of the underworld.

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15. While there seem to be no tablets specifically terming slaves as runaways, there are at least two that pointedly name slaves: DeGrassi 1145, 1147. The notion of slave names combined with *e plage an peculio* suggests the possibility of runaways.

13. Single consonants often represent double ones. See Audollent 190, 5, 9, 17 etc.

14. See Audollent 100, 4.

A Fifth Century Athena

In a recent article in the J. Paul Getty Museum *Journal* on the museum's Parthenonian head of a youth, the well-known Acropolis head 699 was reproduced and suggested as a comparison (Figs. 1–5).¹ The head was first thought by Furtwängler to have belonged to the Kritios Boy before the discovery of his real head in 1888. Since that time it has been variously attributed, but the consensus of opinion is that it is "Phidian." Because of the summary fillet in the hair, the head has always been considered that of an ephebe. But is the head in fact from a male statue? On closer inspection, it may perhaps be seen that "he" was originally a "she." The transformation is the result of ancient recutting and repairs to the head.²

The recarving is most evident around the ears. In front of both ears, the rough cutting down of the marble has resulted in a step-down effect on the "sideburns." The poorly devised ears are for the most part new; and to create a helix a groove was scraped around the top edge. The left ear suffered even more callous treatment in order to set it off from the hair mass: horizontal slashes behind it are continued into the lower portion of the hair. From the front view, the scraping down of the hair, especially at the brow waves, makes a contrast with the surface at the crown. At the right, the indentation near the center seems to be partially original; the next cut inwards is a later attempt to copy it. The sketchy incised fillet, which is without parallel in the fifth century, lies *upon* the hair rather than *in* the hair.

The face must have been retouched at the same time. The most obvious area is around the mouth. In frontal view as well as from the right side the lips reveal how much volume has been lost and how clumsily they were parted. During this operation, the swelling around the corners of the mouth was flattened. Less visible in the photographs is the repolishing of the lower jaw (the left side has lost more surface) to a flatter, less plastic surface. It was probably during this same campaign that the details of the face were repainted. The eyelids were unevenly retouched in black paint over the chipped edges of the lids; traces of the paint are still visible today and can be clearly seen in the old photographs. Before the paint was applied, the eyeball surface was smoothed. The iris

was red, outlined in black, and the pupil and lid edges were also black.

Looking at the head in profile, it is clear that the form of the hair was never differentiated by striations or waves. This entire mass, including the ears and sideburns, suggests that this area was conceived as a large supporting material for the addition of a (bronze?) helmet.

Later repairs to a fifth century work are not without explanation. The best contemporary parallel is the important campaign of the recarving of the Parthenon frieze and metopes.³ Can it be postulated that the Acropolis 699 head was broken off its statue, the helmet lost, and that it was later identified and restored as a youth because of the curious mound of hair? Apparently, it may not be the only once-helmeted head from the Acropolis to have undergone such a transformation. The little marble head Acropolis 644 was also provided with a sketchy fillet at some later date.⁴ (Fig. 6).

Despite the later interference to the sculpture, the original artist's ability to communicate an expression of deep tenderness, strength, and wisdom with a delicate and sensitive handling of the surface remains impressive. The carving around the mouth is remarkably soft. It is in fact these qualities which led to the initial questioning of the identification as an ephebe.⁵ And though the eyes have been reworked, the expression is still eloquent. As Maria Brouskari noted, it is a "serene face with half open lips and distraught eyes, as if something out of the ordinary were weighing on him."⁶

But the *aidos* is not that of a successful victor of an athletic contest who is *kalos kai agathos* in his modesty before the gods. The *gravitas* of the expression recalls the Athena Lemnia, Myron's Athena, and the so-called Mourning Athena, with their deep seriousness which modern eyes often misunderstand as melancholy. The personage of the Acropolis 699 head must also be Athena. The currently accepted dating of about 448–442 B.C. should be correct, placing this work midway in the evolution of the "serious" Athenas and pointing the way for the Athena Parthenos to come.

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1. Acropolis Museum 699. M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum*, 1974, p. 131 used as comparanda by Martha Weber, *Getty MJ*, 5, 1977, pp. 5–12.

2. Noted already by J. Frel, *Getty MJ*, 5, 1977, p. 20, n. 4.

3. To be published by J. Frel.

4. The raised area of marble in mid-brow continuing up into the hair mass must have been the support for the helmet nosepiece.

5. Editing the Acropolis Museum Catalogue, Athena Kaloyeropoulou independently suggested that the head was female.

6. Brouskari, p. 131.



Figure 1. Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 699. Here identified as a head of Athena.

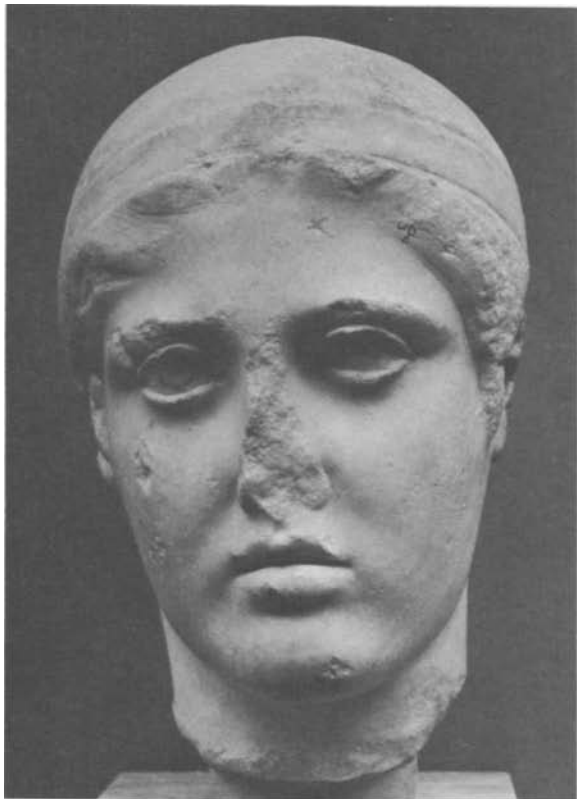


Figure 2. Athena. Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 699.



Figure 3. Athena. Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 699.

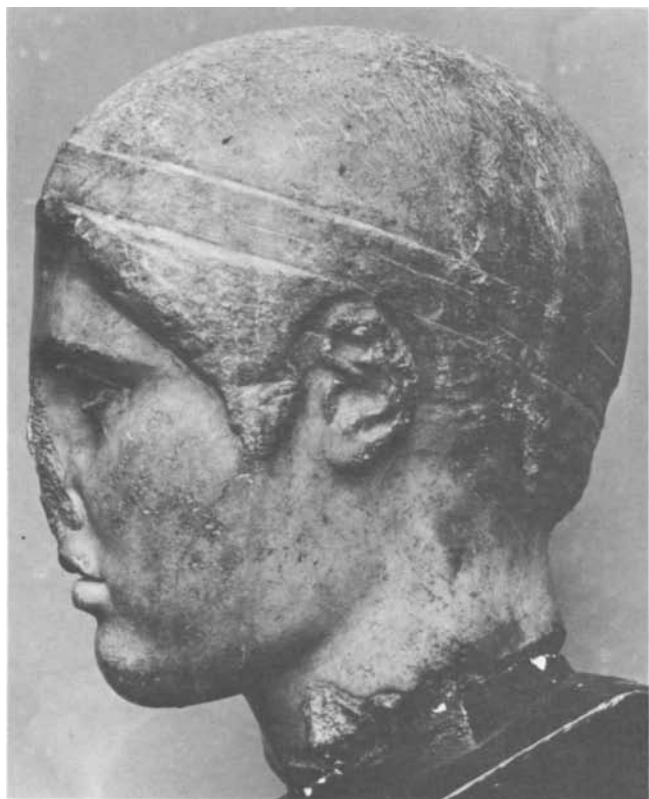


Figure 4. Athena. Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 699.

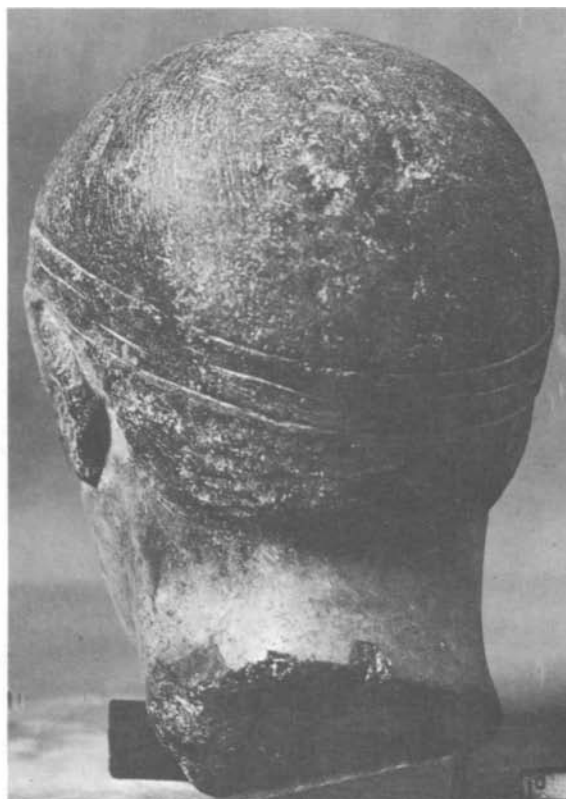


Figure 5. Athena. Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 699.

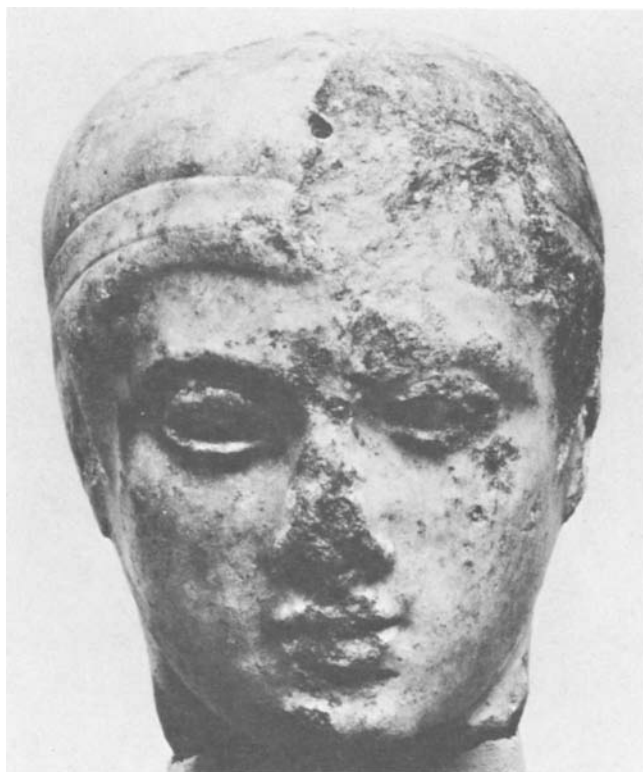


Figure 6. Head of an ephebe. Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 644.

Le sculpteur des danseuses. Addenda et corrigenda

Les résultats des fouilles de la voie sacrée de Rhamnonte et les recherches sur ses monuments poursuivies avec grand succès par V. Petrakos (*Praktika* 1975.1, 5sq, 1976.1, 5sq, 1977.1, 3 sq, *Stèle en mémoire de N. Kondeléon*, 1972, 402 sq.) modifient certains points de la note précédente (Getty MJ 6-7, 1978-79, 75 sq.). Pour en rendre compte dans toute l'étendue, il faut attendre la publication des monuments trouvés et reconstitués, mais certaine mise au point s'impose dès maintenant.

V. Petrakos a identifié la base et le fronton inscrits de la stèle Athènes nr. 1006 (Getty MJ 6-7, figs. 1 et 11) la défunte et son époux retrouvent leur noms, mais la parastade Athènes nr. 1293 (*ibid.*, fig. 14) ne peut pas appartenir au même monument. En outre, elle n'est pas due au sculpteur de la stèle, mais directement à Chairéstratos—le chef de la petite servante représentée correspond bien à la tête éphébique qui lui est attribuée (*ibid.* nr. 6, fig. 9). En revanche, un relief votif de Rhamnonte (Athènes nr. 2332) omis dans la dernière liste mais rattaché à l'atelier de Chairéstratos auparavant (*Sculpteurs attiques anonymes* nr. 399) que V. Petrakos a augmenté de plusieurs fragments (*Praktika* 1976 et 1977 [1980] 3 sq. pl. 20c), est certainement par le sculpteur de la belle stèle—comparez par exemple l'autre tête éphébique (Getty MJ 6-7, nr. 10, fig. 13).

Chairéstratos—boulète était honoré en 328/7 à propos d'Oropos, on devrait donc s'attendre de retrouver son ciseau dans le sanctuaire d'Amphiaraios. En attendant l'étude plus poussée, sig-

nalons qu'une tête femme irrétrouvable aujourd'hui (V. Petrakos, *Oropos* 1969, pl. 54) est bien compatible, à en croire la photographie, avec les chefs des Danseuses.

Mais l'addition la plus important concerne Delphes. En effet, l'examen répété du support signé (Getty MJ 6-7, fig. 10) semble indiquer son appartenance à la statue du Petit Citarède. (Cf. en dernier lieu G. Marcadé, *Etudes delphiques*, *BCH Suppl.* IV 1977 395 sq.) Bien entendu, il n'y a plus de joint direct, mais le marbre et la patine sont identiques et les plis en zig-zag se retrouvent dans la draperie sur le côté droit de la statue. Le support aurait alors soutenu la cithare et le bras gauche, sculptés à part et rapportés à la statue. Le Petit Citarède est une variante d'un style assez particulier de l'Apollon de Patroos de Euphranor (cf. H. Thompson, *Arch. Eph.* 1953/4 III, 36). Plusieurs années après l'érection de l'original dans l'Agora d'Athènes, Chairéstratos l'a refait pour Delphes. Si cette attribution est confirmée, elle montre, une fois de plus, la nature électrique du sculpteur de Rhamnonte. (De la même façon, la Thémis de Rhamnonte doit reproduire une statue importante de cette déesse; une autre réplique contemporaine, sinon l'original, trouvée dans l'Agora—cf. E. B. Harrison, *Festschrift Brommer*, 1977, 157, sec. 43.2-4, fait état de la parenté des deux statues. Pour la date de l'acanthé de la colonne delphique, cf. maintenant J. H. Hicks, *AJA* 84, 1980, 213: les années trente du 4^{ème} siècle.)

Jiří Frel

Metamorphoses of the Grimani "Vitellius." Addenda and Corrigenda

The following corrigenda are to the article in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5 (1977) 105–122.

Figure 4.

P. Cannon-Brookes attributes the painting to Sebastiano Cassieri and suggests that it may be a *Self-Portrait*. S. Mason Rinaldi attributes the painting to Jacopo Palma (il Giovane): "Paintings by Palma il Giovane in British Collections," translated by Anthony M. Sutton in *Apollo*, Nov. 1979, 398f., n. 5. Also attributing this to Palma (il Giovane) are F. Zeri and M. Natale (both verbally) and now myself.

Figure 19.

The painting is now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Acc. 72.65, where it is attributed to Michael Sweerts. M. Waddington, "Michael Sweerts, Boy Copying the Head of a Roman Emperor," *Minneapolis Inst. of Arts Bull.* LXIII (1976–77), 57–65. The painting bears Sweerts' monogram on the chalk tray. The same cast or a similar one is shown in the background of *The Young Artist* in the Louvre attributed to Wallerand Vaillant, a version of which is in the London, National Gallery.

1. P. Meller suggests the possibility that Simone Bianco may have reworked the Grimani "Vitellius:" "Marmi e bronzi di Simone Bianco," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthist. Institutes in Florenz* XXI (1977), 202.

4. Still to be determined is the source of Agostino Musi's engraving of the emperor shown as an antique sculpture (Fig. 1). See Pass. IX, no. 186. The engraving is signed with the initials AV from the artist's nickname Agostino Veneziano, and it bears the name of the emperor A. VITELLIVS. VIII. RO. IMP. and the date 1516, which suggests that it was done upon the artist's arrival in Rome (although it may have been executed in Florence before the artist's move). Notwithstanding the fantastic eyes which are probably due to the artist's attempt at caricature, and the drapery which could have originated from the artist's imagination, the nearly three-quarter view, the turn of the head, and the treatment of the hair suggest a sculptural prototype similar to the Grimani "Vitellius."

A clearer adaptation of the Grimani "Vitellius" is shown in an engraving by or after Agostino Musi's master in Rome, Marcantonio Raimondi (died 1527–34) (Fig. 2). See B. XIV, 373, no. 508 and Pass. IX, no. 258–269. By letter A. V. Griffiths, Assistant Keeper of Prints at the British Museum doubts the attribution to Marcantonio on the basis of style. By letter Dr. Konrad Oberhuber tentatively accepts the attribution of the print to

Marcantonio. The emperor is shown as a coin portrait, shoulder length, in profile looking left with drapery details and a surrounding inscription A VITELLIVS GERMAN IMP AVG P M TR P. It is not certain whether the engraving was taken from a sixteenth century medal which was based on the sculpture or from the sculpture itself. In any case, it is both ironic and surprising that the sculpture appears as the model of the coin-like engraving. An opposite interpretation, that the print was made from an authentic ancient coin or medal—an argument that would prove the identity of the sculpture as Vitellius—is untenable based on the extant coins.

11. The drawing at London, Colnaghi's, 1978 described as "Vitellius" and attributed to Boltraffio is after Inv. 141 in the Museo Archeologico in Venice considered to be Vespasian in the 16th century. Perhaps the best examples of the use of this sculpture are shown in paintings by Callisto da Lodi in the Chiesa dell'Incoronata in Lodi (ie. *Salome Presenting the Head of St. John the Baptist to Herod*, Anderson 11427; and; *The Flagellation*, Anderson 11421). Another drawing of this head attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto appeared at N.Y., Schaeffer Galleries, 1974, formerly Grosse Pointe, Michigan, Richard D. Sterba Coll. Exh. Toronto, Feb.–Mar. 1960, no. 27. See fn. 5.

17. An example of the use of the Grimani "Vitellius" in Bergamask painting is shown in the *Circumcision* attributed to Giulio Licinio in the Reid Coll., London. L. Vertova, "Giulio Licinio," in *I Pittori Bergamaschi, Dal XIII al XIX Secolo, Il Cinquecento II* (1975) 574, fig. 2.

27. The engraving attributed to Andrea Schiavone after a drawing by Titian B. XVI, 82, no. 9 (Ill. Bartsch Vol. 32, 120 to G. B. Pittoni?) is based on a coin portrait as well as on the Grimani "Vitellius." The latter's influence is shown in the proportions of the head and in the treatment of the hair and eye.

38. A school drawing of the composition in the Museum of Art, Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Inv. 20.463 further illustrates the use of the copy of the Grimani "Vitellius" as the source of Rubens's *Bacchus*. The drawing was attributed to Rubens by its owner in 1920, and it was recently exhibited as by Jordaens after Rubens: M. Jaffé, *Jordaens 1593–1678*, Nat. Gall. of Ottawa, 29.11.1968–5.1.1969, 183, fig. 191.

Another drawing of the composition is in the Cottonian Collection in the Plymouth City Art Gallery and is there attributed to Rubens. (See *Cat. of Cottonian Collection*, Plymouth, [n.d.], 33 and 24 fig. d).

To the list of relatively unknown Tintoretto drawings of the



Figure 1. Agostino Musi, *Emperor Vitellius*. Vienna, Albertina.



Figure 2. By or after Marcantonio Raimondi, *Emperor Vitellius*. Photo: Arthur Douglas, courtesy of the Warburg Institute, University of London.

Grimani "Vitellius" may be added the following drawing:

7. Lulworth Manor, Wareham (Dorset), Col. Joseph William Weld Coll. Nearly frontal view of head. Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper; 381 x 254 mm. Inscription: lower right "G. Tintoretto." Provenience: London, Benjamin West. Bibliography: Frick Art Reference Library Authority File of Artists; Cour-

tauld Inst. of Art, *List of the Colonel Joseph Weld Collection*, London (Dec. 1972) 16, no. 157. F. Lugt, *Les Marques de Coll. de Dessins & d'Estampes*, (1921) 71, no. 419. Reproductions: Courtauld Inst. of Art, London, May 23, 1973, 504/34/11; Frick 114222. It is my opinion the drawing is by a follower of Jacopo Tintoretto and is related to the drawings in Budapest and Lübeck.

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